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Study of German Language and Literature*



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John T. Waterman / The Influence of the Lesser Nobility  
on the Rise of Standard Literary German

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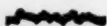
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## NOTES ON BROCH'S "DER VERSUCHER"

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Felix Stössinger, the editor of Hermann Broch's posthumous novel, *Der Versucher*, has expressed his opinions on the book in a lengthy appended essay.<sup>1</sup> They must be respected as the pronouncements of a devoted and diligent friend, but it is not always possible to agree with them. With little interest in the expressly mythological and the expressly political sides of *Der Versucher*, Stössinger tries to demonstrate how the novel is a product and an example of Broch's "cosmic knowledge" (p. 582), and, to use Erich Kahler's phrase, of his "innere, innerweltliche Transzendenz."<sup>2</sup> The mythological nature of Mother Gisson, the novel's central figure, is by no means exhausted when Stössinger connects her, loosely, with the *Magna Mater*; and we are surprised to learn that Broch's favorite title for the novel, *Demeter oder die Verzauberung*, has been rejected in favor of Stössinger's own choice, *Der Versucher* (pp. 555, 575). *Der Versucher* is called a political as well as a religious novel (p. 588), yet its political aspects are treated as vaguely by Stössinger as are its mythological or its religious features. For example, Stössinger writes of Marius Ratti, the dictator of Broch's Alpine village, and his aide, the dwarf-like Wenzel: "Ohne den sinistren Figuren der Zeitgeschichte irgend einen Zug zu entlehnen, werden Marius und Wenzel prototypisch zu ihren Varianten" (p. 593). It seems unlikely that Broch could have persisted in calling his novel by an inaccurate title; it seems equally unlikely that an author with Broch's scientific interest in Nazism as a sociological and psychological phenomenon could have ignored the hard facts of contemporary history as he wrote *Der Versucher*. An investigation of some of the novel's sources will show that classical mythology and current events, as well as Austrian local history, were at least as important as "cosmic knowledge" for *Der Versucher's* genesis.

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Broch, *Der Versucher*, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Felix Stössinger (Zürich, 1953).

<sup>2</sup> Erich Kahler, "Untergang und Übergang der epischen Kunstform," *Neue Rundschau*, LXIV (Heft 1, 1953), 29. See also the section on *Der Versucher* in Kahler's introduction to Broch's *Gedichte* (Zürich, 1953), 37-40.

While composing the first two versions of *Der Versucher* Broch lived in Mösern-Seefeld (Tyrol) and Alt-Aussee (Styria). Stössinger briefly discusses the Tyrolean background but says nothing of the Styrian. Those familiar with the geography, legends, and literature of the more easterly province will detect Styrian echoes in the novel, although Broch's Kuppron region is, to be sure, as Stössinger terms it, "eine erfundene Landschaft" (p. 558). The village of Kuppron has grown up around a mine, long since abandoned at the time of the novel's action. Stössinger admits that Seefeld has no mining tradition. Upper Styria, on the other hand, is the most important mining district of Austria, as place names like Eisenerz indicate; compare Broch's Kuppron and Plombent. Styria itself was a focal point of Nazi disturbances in Austria during the early nineteen-thirties, just prior to and contemporary with the earliest version of *Der Versucher* (1934). The abortive Pfriemer Putsch of the Landwehr began at Leoben, Austria's mining capital (September, 1931); and it was again Leoben where a stronghold of Nazi "rebels" had to be bombarded during the July, 1934, uprising. Styria's sometime governor, Anton Rintelen, was the Nazi choice to succeed the murdered Dollfuss.

During his long residence in Styria Broch must have come into contact with the work of Peter Rosegger, the chief member of the local Parnassus, if indeed he had not read Rosegger earlier in life. There are several resemblances between productions of Rosegger and *Der Versucher*. Probably the most readable of Rosegger's works today is his *Wanderung durch Steiermark*, in which he retells several legends from the mining regions of Upper Styria.<sup>3</sup> One of these legends is substantially the same as a tale told by the peasant Suck in the inn of Broch's village; the conclusion has been changed to frighten Suck's listeners. (Descended from the miners of Kuppron and living in the *Oberdorf*, the ancient mining settlement, Suck is particularly suited to tell mining tales. Chief among his physical characteristics is his *Seemannsbart*; Hoffmann and Hofmannsthal, in their respective works on the mines at Falun, have long since illuminated the relationship between miner and sailor.<sup>4</sup>) According to Suck, giants invade a mountain in order to compel the dwarfs to surrender their riches; the dwarfs drown their attackers with subterranean waters (pp. 90-91). In Rosegger's legend of Eisenerz, the wild inhabitants of the region capture a *Wassermann*, from whom they wish to extort treasures. He offers them a choice between silver and iron, and they wisely choose the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Rosegger, *Schriften* (Leipzig, 1902) Series II, No. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Yet Suck is by no means "ein Mann des Abstiegs, von Anfang an," like Hofmannsthal's Elis Fröbom (Curt von Faber du Faur, "Der Abstieg in den Berg," *Monatshefte*, XLIII, January, 1951, 11). Suck likes to emphasize the fact that his father, an Austrian cavalryman, has been in Italy, the land of the sun and the sea (pp. 82-83).

At Eisenerz Rosegger also describes "die Barbarakapelle . . . auf der halben Höhe des Berges, in welcher am Feste der Schutzpatronin das marianische Wunder aufgestellt wird, ein rohes Stück Erz, welches ein Marienbild mit dem Kind darstellt, und als solches aus dem Berg gegraben worden sein soll" (p. 52). Broch gives one of his most important scenes, the "Steinsegen-Tag," a similar background (pp. 142-190). Changing the time of year from December to June, Broch has a procession move up Mount Kuppron to the *Bergkapelle* where a *Bergbraut* is crowned; four pieces of ore are used by the priest during the celebration of the mass. Some months later the *Bergbraut* herself is sacrificed at the nearby *Kalten Stein*, in a ceremony which is the pagan equivalent of the priest's somewhat blasphemous mass.

Passing westward through Styria, Rosegger comes to "das herrliche Aussee" (p. 74). At both Aussee and the nearby Schladming Rosegger devotes special attention to the towns' bloody histories. In the one case the inhabitants were forced by draconic means to embrace the Counter Reformation; in the other the peasants and miners, rebelling against the imperial government, set up their own republic, an adventure ending in the so-called "Schladminger Blutbad." These stories were expanded by Rosegger into a historical novel, *Der Gottsucher* (*Schriften*, Series I, 7), interesting as a pioneer attempt in German literature to explore the nature of mob violence. The plot of *Der Gottsucher* is quite simple. The peasants of Trawies retain certain heathen practices, among them the tending of a perpetual fire. A despotic priest, attempting to make them abandon their habits, is murdered by Wahnfred, a mystically inclined carpenter chosen by lot for the assassin's task. The Trawies region is placed under interdict, and after a governmental punitive expedition has executed hostages, the surviving peasants are cut off from the outside world. During the ensuing period of anarchy Wahnfred undertakes to found a fire-worshipper's cult, and is successful to the extent that almost the entire population of Trawies is burned to death in a *Feuertempel*. Only Wahnfred's son Erlefried and the lovely Sela escape. They will, of course, found a new life together. Both Sela and another young woman (who meets an accidental death) have been intended for use as sacrifices. These intentions are never carried out by the fire-worshippers; rather they are forgotten or ignored in the confusion of events leading to the holocaust.

A connection between *Der Gottsucher* and *Der Versucher* is detected easily enough. The original of Broch's wise old Mother Gisson is the wise old man, Gallo Weissbucher, *der Feuerwart*; the ascetic Wahnfred becomes the ascetic Marius Ratti, who tries to give the villagers a new religion; Rosegger's two intended sacrifices are reflected in a single real sacrifice, that of Irmgard, *die Bergbraut*; the Kuppron villagers, like the folk of Trawies, hasten from one excess to another. Ro-



segger's own attitude in his capacity as narrator is much the same as that of the *Landarzt* who narrates *Der Versucher*, a queasy approbation of Wahnfred's singleness of purpose changing into disapproval of his fanaticism. The *Landarzt* is drawn into involuntary enthusiasm for Ratti, an enthusiasm rejected whenever the village dictator's cruelty becomes overt. However, it should be noted that in contrast to *Der Gottsucher*, the village priest in *Der Versucher* is not murdered, but rather weakened, just as the church in the Nazi state is not destroyed, but merely pushed to one side.

Returning to Rosegger's *Wanderung*, we find another version of the tale of mass insanity and the sacrifice of a young girl. The story is told this time in connection with the Upper Styrian mining village of Zeiring (pp. 96-97). The miners of Zeiring decide to dispense with both God and emperor. A little girl (Irmgard?), accompanied by an old woman (Mother Gissen?), interrupts their orgies. The child, like Irmgard, is attracted to the miners' games; nevertheless they seize her and chop off her head. When next the miners go to work, the shaft collapses, killing the cruel men and ending Rosegger's legend. In Broch, after the murder of Irmgard, the band of Marius enters the abandoned mine in search of gold. The supports give way and one man is killed, while Wenzel, Marius's lieutenant, is frightfully injured.

Still a third Styrian book of Rosegger, *Die Äpler in ihren Wald- und Dorftypen geschildert* (Schriften, Series II, 5) devotes a chapter to the *Winkeldoktor*. Like the *Landarzt* the *Winkeldoktor* lives isolated from his village and possesses considerable cleverness combined with moral weakness. Granted that Broch's physician is an autobiographical figure (and one demonstrating admirably Broch's ability at self-criticism), it is nonetheless possible that Rosegger's quack may have suggested the doctor's disguise to the author. (Or perhaps Broch was directed to the doctor-figure by Kafka's "Landarzt," another physician separated from his patients but highly susceptible to their faults.) *Die Äpler* also has a few other sketches that may have served as sources for Broch. The timorous, garden-loving old priest who has almost become a peasant ("Der Pfarrer im Gebirge") could be the model for Father Rumbold, the cretin ("Der Cretin") for the half-witted farmer Johanni. But the quack doctor remains the main accession from *Die Äpler*.

Readers of Rosegger's *Äpler* will also become conscious of an omission in the cast of Broch's villagers. The best of Rosegger's sketches is of a schoolmaster. Kuppron, as we know it, has no schoolmaster; the forces of intellectuality are represented by the doctor, by Wetchy, a salesman, and by Suck, the storyteller. Each of the three has a weakness which prevents him from taking an irrevocable stand against Marius: the doctor his sensitivity to the demagogue's appeal, Wetchy his physical fear, and Suck his detachment from village affairs. To be sure, their

resistance to Marius does create a certain argument for the intelligent man's ability to resist evil. The successful battle against Marius is, however, carried out not by intelligence but by instinct; the forces of right have as their bulwark the unlettered but "well-rooted" Mother Gisson and as their most active weapon her impulsive son, Berg-Matthias. Another intellectual figure, of whatever caliber, would only make Broch's structure more cumbersome and add nothing to his central argument of good instinct triumphant. Broch's borrowing from Rosegger has been of a most artistic sort; he has taken only what he needs to construct parts of the novel's framework and to adorn that framework with bits of detail from Styrian legend.

Now that the literary landscape of *Der Versucher* has been established, it is necessary to look at the novel's prime mover, Marius Ratti. Ratti is that familiar novellistic figure, "der Bote von der Außenwelt," a relative of Hamsun's traveler in *Mysterier*, of Strindberg's Doctor Borg in *I Havsbandet*, of the magician in Mann's *Mario* and of Alois Moos-thaler in Stefan Andres' *Das Tier aus der Tiefe*. The Scandinavian novels mentioned do not deal with the phenomenon of the dictator, although they may predict it; Mann, Andres, and Broch have specific models on which to draw. Broch has stayed closer to history than Mann or Andres; his leader is not distorted almost beyond recognition, as Mann's Cipolla and Andres' professor of theology are. Marius Ratti is a composite photograph of those persons whom Broch holds primarily responsible for the tragedy of Fascism and Nazism. In his externals Marius is patently Adolf Hitler; he has the characteristic moustache and the dark hair of Hitler, and is accompanied by Wenzel, a little man resembling Goebbels both in his appearance and his sinister cleverness. Hitlerian too are the hysterical improvisation of Marius's speeches, his appeal to brutal sensuality under the guise of chastity, and his concealment of a technical dictatorship under *Blut und Boden* slogans.

Yet Marius, like Fascism, has come from Italy, a hint on Broch's part that Mussolini has played some role in the conception of his rural Austrian tyrant. A glance at the names of Marius will prove that he has Roman ancestors other than the late Italian leader. Stössinger indicates a relationship between Marius and Cajus Marius, the demagogue; he does not develop the argument (p. 592). The two Mariuses are both demagogues of a special variety. Like Marius Ratti, Cajus Marius is wholly ignorant of the arts and sciences, except as they fit his scheme; the Roman, like the South Tyrolean Ratti, keeps up the pose of the common man, living no better, as Plutarch remarks, than the ordinary soldier. (Gerhard Nebel also noticed a resemblance between Adolf Hitler and Cajus Marius; in his diary for 1944 he wrote of the two: "Ein ganz übles Zeichen ist es, wenn der Mächtige, um seiner Macht besser dienen

zu können, weder trinkt noch raucht, wenn er sich der Frauen enthält und zum Vegetarier wird."<sup>6</sup>)

The name Marius leads us to Rome; the same may be said of the name Ratti. Broch's leader bears the surname of Achille Ratti, Pius XI, who in the Concordat concluded on July 20, 1933, came to an uneasy and even compromising peace with Nazi Germany. In the essay, "Trotzdem, humane Politik," Broch wrote of the Catholic Church and Fascism: "Die Kirche . . . in ihrer grundsätzlichen Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber den weltlichen Dingen hat sich politisch teils mißbrauchen lassen, teils hat sie mit (freilich oft unzureichendem) Abscheu die politischen Welt-sünden und die aus ihnen erwachsenen 'Fehlsituationen' einfach hingegenommen und alles übrige hat sie dem göttlichen Richter überlassen."<sup>6</sup> Possibly, Broch's unfriendly use of Achille Ratti's name may have been inspired, too, by the pope's opposition, in the encyclical *Mortalium animos* (1928), to a syncretism of the Christian churches, a favorite concept of Broch and one discussed at length in the "Logische Exkurse" of *Die Schlafwandler*. And the Austrian Church's longstanding alliance with Austrian Fascism, culminating in its notorious welcoming of Hitler to Vienna, must have contributed to the bitterness of Broch's opinions. Certainly, formal Catholicism, as typified by the weakling priest Rumbold, has been given an unedifying part in *Der Versucher*. Rumbold, in addition to his other faults, does not lift a finger to oppose Marius; on occasion he expresses approval of the stranger's program. However, it should not be thought that *Der Versucher* is an anti-Catholic novel; beneath the obvious distaste for the Church's temporal representatives runs a continuing respect for the Church as a cultural institution. With "Marius Ratti" Broch is simply attempting to say that Fascism, or Nazism, thrived best in an atmosphere compounded of traditionless nihilism (Marius) and ultra-conservatism (Ratti).<sup>7</sup>

When Broch turns to an investigation of the causes producing the dictator, he approaches that school of Hitlerian criticism which interprets the dictator's aberrations as "das Fieberlallen einer späten, verkorkst gebliebenen Pubertät."<sup>8</sup> Broch's Marius constantly preaches chastity because he himself is incapable of anything else. Mother Gisson is quick to notice the flaw in Marius's constitution: "du gehst in den Haß . . . als ob du kein Mann wärest" (p. 286). The impotence of Marius drives him to inspire the murder of Irmgard. "Wär' er ein Mann, ich hätte weniger Angst um Irmgard," says the perceptive Mother Gisson; "mit einem Mann wird jedes Mädels fertig" (p. 345). Broch does not stop his probing of Marius's sexual nature with Mother Gisson's observations;

<sup>6</sup> Gerhard Nebel, *Auf ausonischer Erde* (Wupperthal, 1949), 328.

<sup>6</sup> *Neue Rundschau*, LXI (Heft 1, 1950), 131.

<sup>7</sup> Broch may also have been attracted to the name Ratti by one of its meanings in Italian, "religious ecstasies."

<sup>8</sup> Herbert Lüthy, "Der Führer persönlich: Gedanken beim Lesen zweier Biographien," *Der Monat*, VI (November, 1953), 156.

he gives even this aspect of his village dictator a classical background. According to Plutarch, Cajus Marius prayed most frequently to Cybele, the Great Mother; his cause was furthered by a prophecy of the goddess, announced to him by one of her priests. The priests of Cybele, the *galli*, were noted in antiquity for the act of self-emasculation by which they became members of the order. (Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 363-364, derives the meaning of "eunuch priest" for *gallus* from a Phrygian river, the Gallus, whose waters reputedly make men mad; the river in turn takes its name from the Phrygian Gauls.) The phrase which occurs to the physician upon seeing the vagabond Ratti for the first time is "ein Kleinbürger, meinetswegen ein gallischer" (pp. 10-11). *Gallisch* (from Latin *gallus* 'Gaul') is an uncommon substitute for *italienisch* or *welsch*; but Broch also uses the word in its secondary and more unpleasant Latin meaning. Later in the novel the physician mentions the term again, and here in close proximity to a discussion of the impotence of Marius: "Mir fällt ein, was Mutter Gisson über seine Männlichkeit gesagt hat. Er schließt die Augen, öffnet ein wenig den Mund und drückt mit Daumen und Zeigefinger seinen Gallierschnurbart zurück" (p. 528). Marius is a miniature Hitler; he is also a priest, albeit a rebellious one, of Cybele.

Ratti's dictatorial persuasiveness is directed against the inhabitants of the village, the most important of whom stand or fall according to the grade of erotic adjustment they have achieved (Stössinger, p. 575). Among the supporters of Marius are such good people as Wenter, who, coming from a loveless home, suffers in a loveless marriage. A majority of the peasants join Marius to further their special interests, and these, of course, are largely financial. Isolated cases become followers of Marius because of a gnawing sense of guilt. Such is the case of the Sabests, whose extraordinary lustfulness has also marked their son, Gilbert, and of the Mittisleute, the murderers, many years before, of Mother Gisson's husband. The youths of the village, the "shock troops" of Marius, have enlisted, we may presume, out of a desire for adventure; but this last group is given rather cavalier treatment by Broch. A closer glance at the youths' motives would be all the more rewarding in view of the prominence attained by the young in the Hitlerian scheme of things. Doubtless both the young men and their parents follow Marius partially from a wish to be part of the village group and Marius's task is made easier by the fact that he is dealing with what LeBon has classified as a "foule homogène," since his subjects derive from the same cultural and social background. His sole difficulties arise from the village individualists, Wetchy, Suck, and Berg-Matthias, and from its outstanding personalities, Mother Gisson and the doctor. The individualists are quickly turned into objects for the mob's hatred or are ignored; the personalities, because of their importance in the village, are submitted to an intensive program of persuasion. Marius decides to attack Mother Gisson



only after he has failed to sway her; the doctor escapes a similar fate by the occasional favor he shows the camp of Marius.

In the introduction to the *Psychologie des Foules* LeBon proved that the seduction<sup>9</sup> of the mob was no impossible feat; with the twentieth century's added knowledge of psychology the process has become even simpler. C. J. Jung has pointed out how a misuse of his science was of great value to totalitarianism.<sup>10</sup> Broch's Marius employs a variety of psychological tricks to arouse and crystallize the mass hysteria in Kuppron. He delineates a new social order based upon the abolition of certain features of contemporary life, which he condemns as civilized trappings; he damns the radio, but after attaining more general power, he would doubtless discover its propaganda value. He promises to discover gold in the abandoned shafts of Mount Kuppron. (Here lies another reason for the Italian nationality of Marius. The province of Venezia Giulia produced miners noted for their skill with the divining rod. Marius spends much of his time in well-advertised tramping with a divining rod over the Kuppron slopes.<sup>11</sup>) Eventually he tries to establish a religion in Kuppron which appeals to the baser instincts in his followers. But before he makes the final step in this direction, he trains the people of Kuppron to hate by calling their attention to the Hungarian Protestant Wetchy, the outsider in their midst. Wetchy has always been a figure of fun in the community; now the derision of the peasants becomes more sinister.

Wetchy's name is as meaningful as Ratti's. The Czech adjective *wetchy* means "infirm, decrepit," a precise description of Wetchy's physical and, seemingly, of his spiritual condition; yet, weak as he is, Wetchy is able to defy Ratti for a remarkably long time. On the night of the sacrificial murder Ratti's peasant boys, by injuring Wetchy in a fashion which may cause impotence, attempt to change the salesman into a being like their master. It is as if they sense that Wetchy's defiance can be overcome only by transforming him into a *vir sterilis* like Ratti. They fail, and Wetchy makes his escape to another part of the country.<sup>12</sup> Although Wetchy's manhood has aroused the anger of Marius and his friends, he is generally regarded by the Kuppron community as not

<sup>9</sup> Would not "der Verführer" be a better title for Marius Ratti than "der Versucher"? Theodor Haecker (*Tag- und Nachtbücher*, Olten, 1948, 176) writes that seduction "bezweckt die Aufgabe des eigenen Willens und dessen Hergabe oder Auslieferung an einen andern Willen," while temptation leads one "seinen eigenen Willen zu betonen und durchzusetzen gegenüber dem Willen seines Schöpfers und Gottes, gegenüber einem heiligen Willen." The former, never the latter, is the purpose of Marius.

<sup>10</sup> C. G. Jung, *Essays on Contemporary Events* (London, 1946), 29.

<sup>11</sup> Josef Dürler, *Die Bedeutung des Bergbaus bei Goethe und in der deutschen Romantik* (Frauenfeld-Leipzig, 1936), 34.

<sup>12</sup> Wetchy, as Stössinger says (p. 593), represents Judaism; Broch was particularly fond of the idea that true Protestantism and Judaism are almost identical. Compare *Die Schlafwandler* (München-Zürich, 1931), III, 323.



quite a man. Marius, too, has aroused some suspicion, because of his preachings on chastity, among the more critical minds in Kuppron. Mother Gisson's opinion of Marius is repeated by her less perspicacious son, Matthias, who however, noting that both Marius and Wetchy are afraid, manages to confuse the issue: "Der Marius und der Wetchy sind aus einem Holz . . . darum kann ihn der Marius auch nicht verführen und muß ihn hassen" (p. 291). (Berg-Matthias himself is like Marius in still another way: he is all too ready to take the law into his own hands, as once he does against the younger followers of Marius. Matthias Gisson might be the village equivalent of Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, whose Heimwehr pursued such an ambiguous course in the decade before the Hitlerian annexation of Austria.) The coarse Matthias attributes the fear of Marius and Wetchy to the fact that they are not, in his sense, men. Matthias unconsciously makes the same mistake about Wetchy, the Protestant outsider, as the ancient world was wont to make about the Jews, commonly thought to be castrates, like the *galli* of Cybele, because of the circumcision.<sup>13</sup> The spiritual aspects of the operation were as little understood by the Romans as Matthias is able to understand the peculiar difference between the fear of Wetchy and that of Marius. Mother Gisson attempts to explain that Wetchy is possessed by "gute Angst," by fear of evil forces external to himself, while Ratti is tormented by a fear of the emptiness within himself. She might add that Wetchy, despite his loquacious nature, does his best to keep his fear to himself; Ratti attempts again and again to infect others with his terror.

Wetchy's beating at the hands of Marius's rowdies is immediately preceded by the climactic scene of the novel, in which Marius, with the sacrifice of Irmgard, succeeds in uniting the villagers in a bond of common guilt. The chapter on the sacrifice does not possess an artistic excellence quite equal to its importance as the climax of the novel.<sup>14</sup> The situation is perhaps too melodramatic: the murder takes place at the *Kalten Stein* simultaneously with the coming of the new moon. A dance is held, a little play is performed by Marius's youths in devilish disguises, the mob chants "Tu's, tu's!", and the sacrifice, after an intermezzo between Mother Gisson and Marius, is completed when the lanterns lighting the dance floor suddenly go out. Surprisingly, the murder is not committed by Marius, but by the butcher and innkeeper Sabest, who volunteers his services after Marius has revealed the primitive stone dagger with which, he implies, he intends to perform the sacrifice. " 'Mit dem geht es doch nicht . . . das ist besser.' Es war Sabest, der mit seinen Ellbogen nun alles von sich stößt und sich einen Weg durch die dichtgedrängte Masse bahnt, um zum Opfertisch zu gelangen. Schon während

<sup>13</sup> See Erich Kahler, "Ursprung und Verwandlung des Judenhasses," *Verantwortung des Geistes* (Frankfurt a.M., 1951), 60.

<sup>14</sup> The present writer cannot agree with Franz Martini ("Hermann Broch und der Versucher," *Deutsche Rundschau*, LXXX, May, 1954, 471) that the sacrifice scene is artistically as satisfying as the "Bergkapelle" chapter.

des Laufens löst er sein langes Fleischermesser vom Gürtel, und vorne angelangt, streckt er es hin und schreit nochmals: 'Das ist besser . . .'" (p. 462). Confused by the debate between Mother Gisson and Marius, his excitement heightened by the frantic encouragements of the mob, Sabest runs forward and plunges his knife into Irmgard's heart. A glance at the key episode adduced by LeBon in his chapter on the criminal mob will demonstrate that Broch has read closely in the classic work on mass psychology. The captured governor of the Bastille accidentally jostles a bystander, and the latter is told by the mob to cut the prisoner's throat; the bystander, "cuisinier sans place, demi-badaud qui est allé à la Bastille pour voir ce qui s'y passait, juge que, puisque tel est l'avis général, l'action est patriotique, et croit même mériter une médaille en détruisant un monstre. Avec un sabre qu'on lui prête, il frappe sur le col nu [of du Launay, the governor]; mais le sabre mal affilé ne coupant pas, il tire de sa poche un petit couteau à manche noir et (comme en sa qualité de cuisinier, il sait travailler les viandes) il achève heureusement l'opération."<sup>15</sup> Broch has transformed the striking LeBon vignette to suit his more complicated situation. The murder of the nobleman becomes the pseudo-religious sacrifice of the young girl; the apparently gratuitous act of the "semi-idler" becomes the insane outburst of the violently sexual Sabest; and the leaderless French rioters, swept together on the impulse of an instant, become the carefully trained and directed mass of the Kupproners.

It is particularly to Marius's credit that he is able at the same time to keep the people of Kuppron under his control and to engage in his final battle with Mother Gisson, whom, as the conscience of the village, he knows he must destroy. Here we find the most important difference between the mass psychologies of LeBon and Broch. LeBon discusses the mob leader in detail, of course, but does not postulate that he must combat a hostile mythology or construct one of his own. Broch's Marius has the skills and talents of earlier leaders, the ready wit, the eloquent tongue, and the steel nerve, and with these he is almost able to subdue the Kupproners. In order to eradicate the last traces of Mother Gisson's teachings from their spirits, he also has to venture into the realm of mythology, since Mother Gisson represents a myth — indeed, one of the most important myths of the ancient world.

As has been indicated at the beginning of this essay, Broch's title, *Demeter oder die Verzauberung*, did not meet with his editor's approval. "Er war mythologisch nicht haltbar und entspricht nicht Mutter Gissons Erscheinung. Demeter . . . ist nur eine der vielen Vegetationsgottheiten, die schließlich in die universale große Mutter aufgegangen sind . . . Demeterzüge haben in Mutter Gisson nur die Bedeutung von Nebenmotiven, mythologischen Anspielungen. Unzweifelhaft hat Broch in Mutter

<sup>15</sup> Gustav LeBon, *Psychologie des Foules*, 29th edition (Paris, 1929), 139.

Gisson eine Inkarnation der großen Mutter und nicht der Demeter geben wollen . . . das leibliche Mutter-Tochterverhältnis Demeter-Persephone fehlt" (pp. 555-556). Actually, Broch was neither confused about his mythology nor unaware of recent developments in that fascinating field of study. Available evidence indicates that Broch was familiar with the work of the Hungarian mythologist, Karl Kerényi, another "star" of the Rhein-Verlag, Broch's publishers. Echoes of Kerényi's *Das göttliche Kind* are to be found in *Der Tod des Vergil*, and Professor Weigand has called our attention to the influence of Kerényi upon *Die Schuldlosen*.<sup>16</sup> In *Der Versucher* Broch has used the theory, popularized by Kerényi, that no deity is hermetically sealed off from the others, that rather they form complexes, as, for example, a complex of motherhood and fruitfulness. This theory must be borne in mind when Broch's use of the word Demeter is considered.

The structure of the Gisson family is not particularly complicated. Mother Gisson has had two children by her long dead husband, Berg-Matthias and Martha. Martha has married Wenter, a well-to-do peasant. Although three children have come from the union, Irmgard, Karl, and little Zäzilie, Martha's marriage is far from happy. The family situation of another unhappy wife, Demeter, is considerably less simple. Demeter is the daughter of Rhea and the murdered Cronus; she is ravished by Zeus, just as her child, Persephone, is ravished by Hades. Both Demeter and Persephone have really fallen prey to different aspects of the same god; Zeus and Hades are "corresponding and equal," Zeus being not only the god of the sky but also, in his grimmer form, Zeus Chthonios.<sup>17</sup> Likewise both Demeter and Persephone are the same, equally victims of a ravishment and equally representing the fruitfulness of the earth: Demeter will not bear fruit unless Persephone returns from the underworld. Of the Demeter-Kore (i.e. Persephone) figure Kerényi writes: "In die Gestalt der Demeter eintreten, das heißt verfolgt, beraubt, ja geraubt werden, nicht verstehen, sondern zürnen und trauern, dann aber doch zurückerlangen und wiedergeboren werden."<sup>18</sup> What character in *Der Versucher*, forever dressed in black, forever rages and grieves? Martha Wenter, who thinks she has been "ravished" by Wenter and who loses her child in the sacrificial rite. Who is intended to sacrifice the child? Wenter himself, functioning as Zeus Hypsistos and Zeus Chthonios. (Wenter does not carry out the deed, to be sure, but he does allow it to take place.)

<sup>16</sup> Hermann Weigand, "Hermann Broch's *Die Schuldlosen*: An Approach," *PMLA*, LXVIII (June, 1953), 330. Perhaps Broch's three essays on "Mythologisches Denken," listed in Hanns von Winter's Broch-bibliography, *Wissenschaft und Weltbild*, IV (September, 1951), 223, as scheduled for publication in the Rhein-Verlag, will shed new light on the connection between Broch and Kerényi.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London, 1951), 230-232.

<sup>18</sup> C. G. Jung und Karl Kerényi, *Das göttliche Mädchen, Albae Vigiliae*, VIII-IX (Amsterdam-Leipzig, 1941), 43.

The correspondence between the Gisson family and that of Demeter does not exclude Mother Gisson. Rhea is the calm mother, sent in the Homeric Hymn of Demeter to soothe her passionate daughter, as Mother Gisson soothes Martha Wenter. But Mother Gisson has in earlier days raged and grieved at the death of her husband, which robbed her of her own "fruitfulness," so that she has also functioned as a "scolding Demeter," a Demeter Erinys. Happily she has learned how to exercise a larger kind of spiritual fruitfulness so that she can act both as Rhea and as Demeter when the situation arises. (Kerényi has described in several of his works how Mother Rhea and Demeter are identified with one another.<sup>19</sup>) When, after the death of Irmgard, Martha Wenter continues to complain about her lot and rejects the consolation offered by Mother Gisson, the old peasant woman sees that she must assume her daughter's role of Demeter, the bringer of fruit, once more. Martha has chosen to remain the limited and sterile Demeter Erinys. Mother Gisson adopts a pregnant girl, Agathe, as her new daughter, and leads her up the mountain to meet the spirit of the dead Irmgard, of Persephone. (It is important to note that Agathe has been made pregnant by Gilbert, the son of Irmgard's murderer.) After the meeting with Irmgard, Mother Gisson dies, content in the knowledge that Agathe will someday assume the roles of Demeter and Rhea, precisely as she has taken up the part of Irmgard. In fact, the doctor, who is present at the death, remarks that Agathe in old age will resemble her foster mother. Agathe, like Irmgard, has sacrificed herself to the violent Sabests, and so is a Persephone; she will become a young and passionate mother, like Demeter, and at last a wise and calm mother, like Rhea.

The novel ends in late September or October; the final rites of reconciliation coincide with the Greek celebration of the Thesmophoria, during which Persephone descends into the underworld. Seen in this light, the death of Irmgard has a meaning: life enters the underworld to emerge once again renewed. The story of Rhea, Demeter, and Persephone forms the mythological backbone of Broch's novel. Indeed, he indicates his intentions at the beginning of the narrative. Standing in the arcade of the future murderer's hostelry during the first chapter of the novel, the physician sees a pig, the symbol of Demeter-Persephone, being slaughtered.<sup>20</sup> He wonders at the sense of the animal's suffering. At the end of the novel the purpose of life's destruction is made clear.

Mother Gisson arranges the process of reconciliation and gives it significance by insuring that the fruitful progression of Rhea-Demeter-Persephone will continue. By her ceremony on Mount Kuppron she has renewed the promise of immortality, just as the Eleusinian mysteries, whose major figures were Demeter and Persephone, did in the ancient

<sup>19</sup> For example, *Einführung*, 197; *Pythagoras und Orpheus* (Amsterdam, 1940), 37; *The Gods of the Greeks*, 113, 115, 185.

<sup>20</sup> Karl Kerényi, *Die antike Religion* (Amsterdam, 1942), 146 ff.



world. Marius, her opponent, tries to destroy her in order to give all power over to the negative underworld. A veritable battle of the voices<sup>21</sup> takes place at the sacrificial scene, Marius crying repeatedly, "fürchtet euch," and Mother Gisson answering with the consolatory motto, "Hört ihr den Regen? den guten Regen?" (pp. 464-466), of the goddesses of peace and plenty. Ever a borrower and improviser, Marius has usurped for himself the role of the terrible Zeus Chthonios, which he is incapable of carrying out. Instead, he must drive first Wenter, then Sabest to complete his "chthonic" task. The reader knows from the past that Marius fears Mother Gisson, that perfect amalgam of gentle wisdom and fertility. Neither gently wise nor capable of achieving fatherhood, Marius is, mythologically speaking, the servant of Mother Gisson, the castrate *gallus*. Rhea-Demeter is regarded in the eastern Mediterranean world as Cybele, the *Magna Mater*. F. G. Jünger puts it succinctly: "Rhea ist die Mutter schlechthin, die große Mutter, die Göttermutter."<sup>22</sup> Thus Stössinger is correct when he states in his appendix that Mother Gisson represents the *Magna Mater*; nevertheless the ramifications of Mother Gisson and her family can scarcely be fitted under that simple appellation. Marius's attitude toward Mother Gisson is a strange mixture of love, fear, and hatred. Impotent, he is drawn toward the mother who offers the only love relationship he can know; he fears and hates her because she stands for the continuity his sterile scheme can never hope to achieve. The rebellious servant may achieve a temporary victory, as Marius does, but Mother Gisson has the permanent triumph. Children will continue to be born, and the springtime to return, despite Marius's teachings of a misused purity.

Although Marius is therefore to be connected with the Greek mythological world of the Gisson camp, he devises for his own use a mythology distorted but essentially Germanic. The villagers are accustomed to the Germanic frame of reference, and Marius gladly accommodates them. (Of course, other mythological elements come into play now and then. The *Bergkirchweih* at the *Kalten Stein* or *Keltenstein*, turned by Marius into an actual sacrifice, is probably a descendant of the Celtic autumn festival of the Samrain, at which time all evil spirits were released. The sacrifice itself is twice described in Hebraic terms: Wenter thinks that his situation resembles that of Abraham commanded to kill Isaac, p. 296, and at the sacrificial scene the doctor expects to see the ram appear in the bush, p. 463). Kuppron possesses a body of Germanic myth well suited to Marius's purposes. Mount Kuppron itself, which Marius is determined to enter, is a *Weltberg*, a symbol of motherhood,

<sup>21</sup> N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Prophecy* (Cambridge, 1942), 48, tells how, in the selection of a seer by a primitive society, "great prominence is given to poetic diction and skill."

<sup>22</sup> F. G. Jünger, *Die Titanen* (Frankfurt a.M., 1944), 26.



a *uterus mundi*.<sup>23</sup> The dangerous goddesses placed by Tieck and Hoffmann inside their magic mountains come immediately to mind, yet the danger in the Kuppron myth, as it is known to the villagers, does not arise from the feminine principle but from the monster guarding the mountain. During the procession to the mountain chapel the worshippers intone an ancient litany, wherein a dragon on Mount Kuppron demands the sacrifice of a maiden. Saint George, slaying the beast, puts an end to the atrocious custom. The people of Kuppron sing: "Kommt der Christ die Welt zu lö-ösen / Aus des Satans groß Rachen, / Muß fliehen alle bö-ösen/ Ungetiere und Drachen,/ Heilger Georg, heilger Georg,/ Auf dem Berge unser Ho-ort,/ Schöne Jungfrau ist gene-esen/ Aus dem Drachenblute dort" (p. 181).

The villagers' song contains almost equal elements of pagan rite and Christianity. At some time in prehistory the inhabitants of the region have sacrificed a girl to the mountain, thus making the mountain, as it were, fecund. With the coming of Christianity the figure of Saint George has been added to conquer the dragon, the cruel and demanding guardian. Both the dragon and Saint George could easily be replaced by other legendary figures; the former, for instance, could be a giant, an exchange the villagers themselves mention in their song: "Niemand darf heran sich traue-en/ An des Riesen feste Burg" (p. 179). (In Marius's perversion of the story, as we shall see, the dragon is a dwarf, and George simply the "hero.") Allowing for such an exchange of figures, the Kuppron story will be seen to have a close affinity to the legend of the Horned Seyfrid, who must slay a giant named Kuperan to win the keys to the Drachenstein and free the captive princess: "Do sprach der held Seyfride:/ 'Die red ist nun verlorn;/ Ich hab mit augen gsehen/ Die maget hoch geporn.'/ Er nam jn bey dem arme,/ Warff jn vom stayn hindan,/ Er fiel zuo hundert stücken,/ Des lacht die Junckfraw schon."<sup>24</sup> It would seem that Broch has taken something of both substance and style of his litany from *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*. The bloody story of sacrifice has been covered over by a Christian legend, and one in which woman has a respected part. The initial strophe of the litany concludes with the outcry: "Gelobt sei Maria auf dem Berge" (p. 158).

The ever inquisitive Marius knows the litany and proceeds on the supposition that the Kupproners are tired of a gyneolatric Christianity. The pagan sacrifice of the maiden is to be revived, thus weakening Christianity's force in the village, appealing to whatever atavistic drives are latent in the hearts of the villagers, and, most important, destroying the nimbus which surrounds the mother-figure, Mother Gisson, in their minds. To this last end Marius also arranges the spectacle attendant upon

<sup>23</sup> See Hedwig Beit, *Symbolik des Märchens* (Bern, 1952), 48, and Julius Schwabe, *Archetyp und Tierkreis* (Basel, 1951), 399, for discussions of the mountain's feminine role in mythology.

<sup>24</sup> *Das Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, ed. Wolfgang Golther (Halle, 1889), 66.

Irmgard's death. At the *Bergkirchweih* before the murder, a group of Marius's henchmen sing a mocking tune which disposes of the legend of Saint George in a few cruel lines: "Der Drach hat die Jungfrau,/ die Jungfrau hat den Drach,/ und wenn er sie anschaut,/ dann wird ihm so schwach" (p. 453). The singers then distinguish between heaven (man) and earth (woman), a distinction coinciding with Marius's exalted notion of himself and with his earlier remark: "Die Frauen müssen nicht hinabhorchen . . . sie sind in der Erde" (p. 273). Finally, "die Mutter, die böse" is attacked for selling the maiden to "snake and lizard"; a drama is enacted by the ruffians, in the course of which the actor playing "the witch" (Mother Gisson) confesses to a number of crimes. The mother-figure has been robbed of her dignity.

The climax of the ceremony begins when the band chants a second song, an old miner's melody. Its contents are as muddled, and as dangerous for the indiscriminating listener, as the earlier accusations concerning "Schlang und Eidechs." From its tortured lines we gather that a hero, sometimes called the son, has descended into the mountain to kill a silver dwarf and save a captive maiden. Suddenly, the familiar narrative takes a surprising turn. The maiden escapes, leaving the hero to be walled up in the mountain by the silver dwarf. The maiden becomes queen of the world, but nature withers away during her reign, and she asks that she be killed, so that the hero may be redeemed: "Ins Herz traf sie der steinerne Speer, lio / oh Mägdelein, / da starb auch der Zwerg des Todes schwer, lio,/ und der Held aufstieg den goldenen Pfad . . ." (p. 459). Marius, by reviving the old miners' song, has added a grotesque chapter to the traditional story of a hero's quest to save a captive maiden. In the world of Marius, the woman must dare and sacrifice everything for the superior being, the man. With the songs, the play, and the death of Irmgard, Marius believes that he has triumphed over Mother Gisson and the attitude toward life she typifies. Thinking his victory secure, Marius transfigures himself, in his sick imagination, into those figures he can never become, the husband and the father: "Löwe des Himmels, Blitz der Höhe, / als Vater dich tötend, / kehr ich als Himmel zu dir, / Erde gewordene,/ ein Gatte zurück" (p. 461). A religion centered exclusively in the male, such as Marius here propounds, can be dangerous enough for its followers, in that it idealizes hardness, cruelty, and bloody sacrifice; yet we know that the new "faith" of Marius is but a mask for that negation which comprises his core. As Mother Gisson says, "Seine Stärke ist das Nichts" (p. 345). Goethe's "Geist, der stets verneint" has found a worthy successor in this half-insane vagrant, who, leaving Kuppron, may disseminate fear and destruction throughout the world at large.

*Der Versucher* can be reduced to a struggle between the real and the spurious mythological figure, in which authenticity has the better hope of ultimate triumph. Curiously, both the evil and its cure, ruinous

dictatorship as well as redeeming motherhood, are closely connected to a Mediterranean civilization. This is not to say that Broch was convinced the two concepts had their sole roots in the Graeco-Roman sphere, but rather that, even when dealing with a Germanic milieu, he could not escape thinking in Graeco-Roman terms. When Broch chose Vergil to be his last literary spokesman, he followed the pattern set in *Der Versucher*. Broch's love for the classical world makes the chief flaw of the novel, its lack of respect for the individual human intelligence, all the more surprising. Mother Gisson and Marius Ratti, whatever their virtues and faults may be, stem from the unconscious and speak to the unconscious. The former knows instinctively what to do to help, the latter instinctively what to do to harm. The readiness with which the doctor, Broch's alter ego, submits to the weird medical practices and infallible prophecies of Mother Gisson is somehow appalling, as if the shaman, in Broch's opinion, had suddenly become the superior of the trained physician.

The attitude which Broch displays is to be found in other great novelists, for example Knut Hamsun and D. H. Lawrence; and, as the Norwegian writer amply demonstrated, it is an attitude readily directed to an unwholesome purpose. The human mind deserves more dignity than it is accorded in *Der Versucher*, where it has a single outstanding representative, the Odysseus-like Suck, the "seaman" and storyteller. The doctor can abandon his intellectual stronghold, and Wetchy is usually much too frightened to think clearly; Suck is able to discomfit Marius, support Wetchy, and even bolster the failing doctor, while he pursues his own course, independent of all others. Suck (*suk*, Czech for "knot") cannot be untied by instinct, good or bad. Tragically, because of his fundamental indifference, he accomplishes nothing of permanence. Mother Gisson is transfigured, Marius wins control of the village, and Suck, it is likely, will have to depart. The child of Agathe will — or would, if Broch had completed the trilogy — introduce a new world, one presumably based upon Broch's *totale Humanität*, for which, as Broch said in "Trotzdem: humane Politik," a messiah is needed. It is doubtful that there would be any place for Suck in this new world. Suck applied his sense of humor to the dictator. Might he also make gentle fun of Broch's messiah?



## ROGERIUS' "OPEN DEURE":

### A HERDER SOURCE

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Johann Gottfried Herder's long and lively interest in India, which culminated in the formation of a mythical image,<sup>1</sup> found its peak in the fervent *Sakuntala* letters and the gnomic "Gedanken einiger Bramanen" of the fourth collection of his *Zerstreute Blätter* (1792). For years Herder, largely through travel literature, had cultivated a familiarity with the people of India, their mythology, and their religious practices. This familiarity, which found a devoted response in Herder, revealed itself as early as 1774 in *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* and later in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1785). But it was only with the publication of Georg Forster's *Sakuntala* translation (1791), made from the English version of Kalidasa's play translated by Sir William Jones in 1789, that Herder's enthusiasm encompassed the literature of India as well. Forster led Herder to the first translation from Sanskrit made by a European: Charles Wilkins' *Bhagvat-Geeta* (1785). However, Herder had previous acquaintanceship with the first Sanskrit work to be paraphrased directly in a language of the West: Abraham Rogerius' rendering of some maxims of the Sanskrit lyric poet Bhartrihari, found in *De Open-Deure tot het Verborgene Heydendom* (1651).<sup>2</sup>

Abraham Rogerius, also called Rogers and Roger, went as a Protestant missionary from Holland to Pulicat, the earliest Dutch settlement on the Indian mainland, in 1630. He spent ten years on the coast of Coromandel and five years more at Batavia (now Jakarta, capital of Indonesia), preaching in both Dutch and Portuguese. In 1647 he returned to Holland and settled in Gouda, where he died in 1649.

The most important early publication about India was doubtless Rogerius' *Open-Deure*, published at Leyden in 1651 by his widow. One Indic scholar commented (in 1898) that this book "is still, perhaps, the most complete account of S. Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest."<sup>3</sup> Certainly Rogerius' work was the most capacious source for information concerning Hindu customs and religious myths and rites until almost the end of the eighteenth century. William Robertson, an English historian, remarks (in 1791) that by gaining the confidence of an intelligent Brahman, Rogerius acquired information concerning the manners

<sup>1</sup> See author's unpublished dissertation, "The Mythical Image of India as Projected by Early Romanticism in Germany" (Yale, 1954). For the mythical image with reference to Herder as originator, see author's article, "Herder and India: The Genesis of a Mythical Image," in *PMLA*, LXX, 5 (December, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. W. Caland, *Linschoten-Vereeniging*, X ('S-Gravenhage, 1915). Cited hereafter parenthetically as Caland and page number.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Burnell, *Indian Antiquary* (1898), III, 98.



and religion of the Hindus that was more authentic and extensive than was known to Europeans prior to translations direct from Sanskrit (1785).<sup>4</sup> The *Open-Deure* was translated in a comparatively short time into German and French.<sup>5</sup> An estimable virtue of Rogerius' work is commented upon by W. Caland, the editor of the most recent Dutch edition, who says that the book contains an impressive and objective description of Hindu religious rites, in general free of the restrictive, zealous criticism which brands the works of many other missionaries (Caland, xxii).

Although the Brahmans were forbidden to reveal the mysteries of their religion to foreigners, or even to fellow devotees of lesser castes, Rogerius was able to present his treatise on the Hindu religion because he persuaded a number of Brahmans to take him into their confidence. Jacobus Sceperus, a minister in Gouda who wrote the dedicatory epistle to the original Dutch edition, speaks of Rogerius' success with the chief Brahman informant, Padmanabha. This Brahman had shorn the head of one of his concubines, a woman of high caste, to whom such treatment was a great disgrace. Consequently he made enemies of her friends and relatives and drew upon himself the wrath of the foreign governor (presumably in a Portuguese settlement) and was forced to flee and seek asylum with the Dutch administrator at Pulicat. It was through the agency of the Dutch governor, with whom he was on excellent terms, that Rogerius became acquainted with the Brahman. Sceperus says that Padmanabha, a man of great wisdom, was often at the home of Rogerius and that they spoke together about the Hindu religion. Although Padmanabha did not know Dutch, both he and Rogerius spoke Portuguese, and this was the language they used to converse. Many times the Brahman brought others of his rank to Rogerius' house, among them a Brahman named Dammersa, who was more fluent than he in Portuguese and could thus express his ideas about many aspects of the religion more comfortably than Padmanabha himself could do (Caland, xxxvi).

Aside from the value of Rogerius' book as an unbiased authoritative depository of Hindu religious and cultural lore, it contains as a supplement the first direct adaptation of a Sanskrit work into a Western tongue: two of the three hundred "centuries" (*satakas*) of Bhartrihari, supposedly in literal translation but actually more in a paraphrase. Caland errs in his statement that "de vertaling van een vrij omvangrijk Sanskrit werk [is] . . . het *allereerste* dat tot de Westerlingen gekomen is" (Caland, xxv). Bhartrihari's lyric collection in the prose version by Rogerius was the first Sanskrit work to be adapted directly into a European lan-

<sup>4</sup> William Robertson, *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (London, 1791), p. 338.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Rogers, *Offne Thür zu dem verborgen Heydenthum*, trans. Christoph Arnold (Nürnberg, 1663); and Abraham Roger, *Le Theatre de l'idolatrie, ou la Porte Ouverte*, trans. Thomas la Grue (Amsterdam, 1670).



guage, but one other Sanskrit work, the fables of Bidpai (or Pidpai or Pilpai), had made its way West through an astonishingly devious route of successive translations.<sup>6</sup>

The majority of the lyric creations of the middle period of Indic letters (around the eighth century) present a very special and sharply defined *genre*. The small poems, concise and formed by a few strokes, offer a picture, a situation, or an emotion. The lyric, kin in many respects to the gnomic aphorism of prose, was developed to a great fullness by the Sanskrit poets. But the grace and fine observation of the *genre*, along with its terse form, make translation almost impossible. Sanskrit meter does not lend itself easily to reproduction, and one must depend upon prose paraphrases or inadequate versions in the form of the lyric current in the language into which the translation is made.<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising then, and certainly is no reflection upon Rogerius, who could not read the Sanskrit original (and was moreover no poet), that Bhartrihari's lyrics were paraphrased in prose.

An inclination for reflection and speculation is a trait firmly established as an essential part of the Hindu spirit. Aphorisms are found throughout the literature of India: in religious and scientific writings, in fables, dramas, epics, and also in the lyric. Such sayings of wisdom were given poetic expression in very original, striking thoughts and in forms sharp, clear, and often very artistic. These gnomic gems are found generally scattered throughout Sanskrit literature; very few are in works which are exclusively made up of aphorisms. Such a work, however, is the collection of *satakas* by Bhartrihari, especially the second and third parts (those found in Rogerius' volume).<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese writer and pilgrim, I Tsing, says that Bhartrihari, who lived around the middle of the seventh century, was a poet, grammarian, and philosopher. Tradition says of him, that he was also a king. His wisdom is supposed to have come to him after bitter reflection over a wasted youth. It is said that he became a Buddhist monk, but after a time was so filled with longing for the world that he returned to a lay status (an act permissible in Buddhist canon law). During his lifetime he is supposed to have wavered, unsure of his vocation, seven times, on one occasion even having a chariot waiting at the monastery gate to take

<sup>6</sup> This work, the *Panchatantra*, written in the fourth century A. D., was translated into Pahlavi (Middle Persian) and then in Arabic was carried across North Africa to Spain, where it was translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joël early in the thirteenth century and then into Spanish in 1251. A Latin translation of the Hebrew version was made by Johannes von Capua between 1263 and 1278; the Latin edition, published in Germany in 1480, served then as a source for the German translation, published under the title *Das Buch der Weisheit* in 1483. See *Das Buch der Weisheit*, facsimile edition ed. Rudolf Payer von Thurn (Vienna, 1925), pp. iii-iv. See also Johannes Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig, 1914).

<sup>7</sup> Leopold von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 563.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 667-668.

him back into the world.<sup>9</sup> L.D. Barnett, in *The Heart of India*, says: "Again and again, when he had drained the cup of passion to the dregs, he sought peace for his soul in religion; but his heart was still restless under the ragged gown of the monk, and time after time drove him back to the world that he had hoped to abandon."<sup>10</sup> According to Rogerius, when Bhartrihari turned out his 300 wives upon the death of his father, they and their descendants became a numerous sub-caste of the poet's own caste.<sup>11</sup>

Bhartrihari wrote three *satakas*, that is, three series of lyrics, each containing ten chapters, with each chapter made up of ten lyric epigrams, giving a total of one hundred for each series. The first, the "Century of Love," is a record of changeful passion, treated in gracious and thoughtful lyric form. The second *sataka*, the "Century of Polity," is concerned with his lightly ironic scorn for the statesmanship of princes; but he nevertheless bears witness to the ideal of moral and ethical behavior among men and stresses character as contrasted with expediency. The third group of lyrics is called the "Century of a Stilled Heart" and is dedicated to the renunciation of the world. It represents Bhartrihari's disillusionment with life, but emphasizes certain convictions which had become deeply rooted in his philosophy.<sup>12</sup>

Only the latter two hundred of the three hundred lyrics were adapted by Rogerius. The Brahman Padmanabha, who paraphrased the lyrics in Portuguese for the missionary (who then translated them into Dutch prose), did not, for some reason, want to transmit the "Century of Love." In two chapters of the *satakas* published, the tenth aphorism is missing, but Rogerius says he was told by Padmanabha that the original also contained this omission (Caland, 169). The Hamburg edition (1696) of the publications of Adam Olearius also contains the sayings of Bhartrihari as reproduced by Rogerius, but does not give credit to the Dutch missionary nor comment in any manner on the source of the aphorisms.<sup>13</sup>

When direct translations of India's Sanskrit poetic literature began to be published, Herder saw the fulfillment of an old longing to see the writings of the Hindus. He had long shown an interest in Hindu culture, and it is not surprising that, with Georg Forster's aid, he should have availed himself of the translations which were appearing in England. Herder, basically a product of the rational thought of the period of Enlightenment, found the sententious trait of Sanskrit literature appealing to his own didactic predisposition. Georg Forster possessed a copy of

<sup>9</sup> Von Schroeder, pp. 563-564; see also, Herbert H. Gowen, *A History of Indian Literature* (New York, 1931), pp. 411-412.

<sup>10</sup> L. D. Barnett, *The Heart of India* (London, 1908), pp. 115-122.

<sup>11</sup> Rogers, *Offne Thür*, pp. 462-464.

<sup>12</sup> Gowen, pp. 411-412; von Schroeder, p. 564.

<sup>13</sup> Adam Olearius, *Viel vermehrte Moscovitische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung* (Hamburg, 1696), following the appendix concerning the wars of the Tartars against the Chinese, pp. 95-112.

Wilkin's translation of the fable collection *Hitopadesa* (an excerpt of the *Panchatantra*) and Herder asked to see it. Forster sent it to him, with a letter offering him also the Wilkins version of the *Bhagavatgita*.<sup>14</sup> It was in these works and in Rogerius' Bhartrihari maxims that Herder sought inspiration, and from these works that he translated and re-fashioned the musings into didactic poems. A large number appeared in the fourth collection of *Zerstreute Blätter* under the title of "Gedanken einiger Bramanen"<sup>15</sup> and others were scattered among his works (XXVI, 417-433).

In the foreword to the fourth collection of *Zerstreute Blätter* Herder asks his readers to approach the "Gedanken einiger Bramanen" without prejudice for or against them. He continues: "Wo Ihnen in diesen der Geruch einer zu starken Würze vorkommt, da denken Sie, er ist von einer Indischen Pflanze" (XXVI, 310). In Herder's versions of Indic thought the strong odor became a captivating aroma, as may be seen in the judgments of two of his contemporaries. On 20 May 1792, J. G. Eichhorn, a biblical scholar and Orientalist at Göttingen, wrote to Herder: "Sie leisten der Asiatischen Literatur einen Dienst, den ihr noch niemand geleistet hat, daß Sie mit unnachahmlicher Kunst unserer Zeit und Welt alles näher bringen, ohne den Asiatischen Geist zu mindern, und dadurch Liebe zu ihm erwecken."<sup>16</sup> And Karl Ludwig von Knebel, a classical translator at Weimar, wrote to him, upon the publication of the "Gedanken einiger Bramanen": "Es sind wahre Indische Steine."<sup>17</sup>

A clean manuscript copy of a perhaps unfinished essay on the mythology of the Hindus is testimony to Herder's avid interest in India and his early familiarity with the maxims of Bhartrihari, for as examples of Indic thought he has copied fifty-three maxims which must have held particular interest for him.<sup>18</sup> Bhartrihari is represented in Herder's published works with seventeen epigrams in sixteen of the "Gedanken einiger Bramanen" (one verse combining thoughts from two of the Sanskrit poet's aphorisms; see No. 41, XXVI, 415) and with four aphorisms in three selections from the ninth and one selection from the tenth part of Herder's *Sämtliche Werke* (XXVI, 425, 427, 431, 433). The motifs of the Bhartrihari maxims all concern moral or ethical ideas, and Herder reshaped the original sources to fit his own poetic ability and adapted them to his own point of view. In his adaptation of Bhartrihari, Herder most often retains the same idea of a maxim; frequently, however, he selects one or two of several ideas, changes the sequence of thought

<sup>14</sup> Paul Th. Hoffmann, *Der indische und der deutsche Geist von Herder bis zur Romantik* (diss. Tübingen, 1915), p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan (Leipzig, 1877-1913), XXVI, 406-416; hereafter cited parenthetically with volume and page.

<sup>16</sup> Heinrich Düntzer and F. G. von Herder, edd., *Von und an Herder. Ungedruckte Briefe aus Herders Nachlaß* (Leipzig, 1861), II, 302-303.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 80.

<sup>18</sup> Herder, *Werke*, XXVI, note to p. 406 ff. on pp. 491-492.

or metaphor, refines, polishes, expands, or even shortens the images to shape them into his own subjective interpretation.

The epigrammatic lyrics of Bhartrihari were published in a Sanskrit edition (with a Latin translation) by Peter von Bohlen, professor of Oriental languages in Königsberg, 1833.<sup>19</sup> It is notable that two years later, in his metric translation of the gnomic poems into German, von Bohlen retained four of Herder's adaptations of the poet<sup>20</sup> (see below), a gesture complimentary not only to Herder but to his immediate source, Rogerius, as well.

As has been noted, Rogerius published only two of the three *satakas* by Bhartrihari, the second and the third (to be cited, after Rogerius' numeration, by series, chapter, and verse — for example, Bthr. 1. 4. 5.). The genius of Herder's spirit, which revealed itself in the empathy with which he was able to project his sensitive awareness and grasp the essence of an idea — an alien idea clothed clumsily in the phrases of a sequence of three translations — can be shown in the four instances where von Bohlen, translating directly from the Sanskrit, found Herder's renderings admirable enough to be retained.

The stiff and almost archaic prose paraphrase of Rogerius does not, of course, capture the lyric quality of Bhartrihari. The following lines, although they contain the seed of poetic metaphors, are couched in prosaic phrases of almost pedestrian quality:

Wann du mit Bösen / Mittelmäßigen /  
und Guten / Freundschaft machest / so wird  
es solcher Gestalt zugehen / als wie mit  
einem Tröpflein Regenwassers; denn fällt  
solches auf ein gluendes Eisen / so wird es  
nicht mehr zu finden seyn; fällt es dann auf  
ein Krug-blumen-blatt / so wird es scheinen  
als ein Perlein: Fällt es aber / zu bequemer  
Zeit / in eine Auster / so wird es in der  
That ein Perlein werden. (Bthr. 2. 6. 8.)

In Herder's rendering the aphorism becomes advice given warmly; the illustrative metaphors are no longer in a future time, but are given in terms of an experienced narrative past.

Sohn, die Freundschaft mit den Bösen,  
mit Gleichgültigen und Guten  
sei dir ja nicht Einerlei!

Ein Tropfe Regenwasser  
fiel auf ein glühend Eisen,  
und war nicht mehr.

<sup>19</sup> Peter von Bohlen, *Bhartriharis Sententiae* (Berlin, 1833).

<sup>20</sup> Peter von Bohlen, *Die Sprüche des Bhartriharis* (Hamburg, 1835), note to No. 50, p. 184.



Er fiel auf eine Blume,  
und glänzt' als eine Perle,  
und blieb ein Tröpfchen Thau.

Er sank in eine Muschel  
zur Segenreichen Stunde  
und ward zur Perle selbst. (XXVI, 406)

Rogerius' missionary calling explains the sometimes prophetic biblical cast to his renderings (though they lack the finer simplicity of the language of the Bible):

Gleichwie es mit dem Schatten der  
Sonne beschaffen / im Aufgang derselbigen;  
also wird es sich auch verhalten mit  
derjenigen Freundschaft / die man mit den  
Bösen macht. Aber die Freundschaft mit  
den Frommen wird seyn / als der Schatten /  
welchen die Sonne gibt / wann sie nach  
dem Untergang wandert. (Bthr. 2. 5. 9)

Herder's version in unrhymed tetrameter, though it contains the same thought, is phrased in concise terms more appealing to the imagination:

Wie der Schatte früh am Morgen  
ist die Freundschaft mit den Bösen;  
Stund' auf Stunde nimmt sie ab.  
Aber Freundschaft mit den Guten  
wächst wie der Abendschatte,  
bis des Lebens Sonne sinkt. (XXVI, 407)

The last line is a thought of the durable qualities of a good friendship, appended by Herder to reinforce the image of the long post-meridian shadow which grows ever longer until it vanishes into twilight. Here a shadow merges with darkness imbued with a sense of eternal comradeship.

Herder's genial ability to reduce a prosy thought to its essential epigrammatic idea is seen in the following comparison. Rogerius says:

Gleich wie die Flamm von einem Licht /  
indem es umgekehrt / eben so wol stets über  
sich glimmet: Also auch ein Mensch / der  
aufrichtigen Hertzens ist / wiewol ihm  
irgend ein Unfall begegnet / so wird er doch  
von seinem guten Fürhaben nicht abwendig  
gemacht werden. (Bthr. 2. 8. 7)

Herder reduces the image to its essential idea in a couplet:

So wie die Flamme des Lichts auch umgewendet hinaufstralt;  
so vom Schicksal gebeugt, strebet der Gute empor. (XXVI, 412)

Both Rogerius and Herder avoid an elegiac mood in a verse containing a Brahmanical farewell to the world. Rogerius renders the solicitation of the elements in a fervent voice, but then becomes less forceful in his address:

O / Mutter / die Erde! O / Vatter /  
 der Wind! O / Freund / das Feuer! O /  
 Verwandschaft / das Wasser! O / Himmel /  
 der Bruder! auf das allerfreundlichste  
 bezeige ich euch alle Ehrerbietung; denn  
 weil ich mit euch wol gelebet hab / erhalte  
 ich nun die Seeligkeit: Ich will euch aber  
 gern alle verlassen / und nach dem Himmel  
 zugehen. (Bthr. 1. 10. 10)

Herder entitles his version, "Abschied des Einsiedlers," thus explaining the familial and friendly relationship between the speaker and the elements: no other acquaintance had he. Herder makes of the piece a solemn and impassioned farewell as a conclusion to his "Gedanken einiger Bramanen":

Erde, du meine Mutter, und du mein Vater, der Lufthauch,  
 und du Feuer, mein Freund, du mein Verwandter, der Strom,  
 Und mein Bruder, der Himmel, ich sag' euch allen mit Ehrfurcht  
 freundlichen Dank. Mit euch hab' ich hienieden gelebt,  
 Und geh jetzt zur anderen Welt, euch gerne verlassend;  
 Lebt wohl, Bruder und Freund, Vater und Mutter, lebt wohl!

(XXVI, 416)

These examples may suffice to illustrate Herder's happy aptitude for striking through the entanglement of too formal grammar and verbiage of Rogerius and plumbing the *ethos* of the Sanskrit thought by a kind of extrasensory empathy.

Rogerius' *Open-Deure* in German translation provided Herder with information concerning the Hindu people, their mythology and such religious practices as suttee and the Brahmanical *jus primae noctis* – information interesting and even revealing to him as a universal humanist; but more important for the succeeding literary era were the appended Bhartrihari maxims, some of which Herder adapted in poetic form. Herder's encompassing spirit revived these Indic gems, imbued them with renewed brilliance and scintillating thought, winning devoted friends even in advance of the surge of interest in Indic culture and Sanskrit literature which was soon to provide the Early Romanticists with an objective of longing and a touchstone of imagery, and which was finally to culminate in the foundation of comparative linguistics in Germany.



## THE INFLUENCE OF THE LESSER NOBILITY ON THE RISE OF STANDARD LITERARY GERMAN

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In tracing the rise of Standard New High German (referred to as both *Schriftsprache* and *Hochsprache* by German authors), most scholars single out as especially significant the use of the vernacular for legal and commercial purposes during the centuries immediately preceding the Protestant Reformation. Curme's remarks are typical: "The only common language in Germany . . . before Luther's time . . . was the official language as found in laws, legal documents, decrees, etc. . . . [This] gradually came into wide use in official life and business."<sup>1</sup>

The triumph of German over Latin in the everyday world of public affairs is usually attributed to the increasing prominence of the laity; more specifically to the rapid growth of the cities and the concomitant need of the burghers for a means of communication other than Latin. Karl Demeter, for instance, comments: "Mit diesem verhältnismäßig schnellen Emporkommen des 'Volkes,' des bürgerlichen Elementes, hängt es aufs engste zusammen, daß mehr und mehr die Volkssprache, die deutsche Sprache, auch im hohen amtlichen Schriftverkehr der Staatskanzleien mit den Untertanen und untereinander der lateinischen den Vorrang streitig macht und schließlich den Sieg über sie davonträgt."<sup>2</sup> Or again, Friedrich Kluge in his *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte*: "Staat und Kirche hatten sich durch Jahrhunderte hindurch an die Alleinherrschaft des Lateins in ihren Kanzleien gewöhnt, bis um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts sich unser Deutsch doch langsam in die Sprache städtischer Behörden eindringt."<sup>3</sup> Hugo Moser, too, places the emergence of an official and business language "im engsten Zusammenhang mit dem Aufblühen der Städte . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Whereas such observations — and they are by no means limited to a few — are not altogether inaccurate, they nevertheless lack sadly in precision. The cities, for example, clung to the writing of Latin approximately half a century longer than any other lay element of medieval Germany. The petty nobleman — not the burgher — was the first to write his official and commercial communications in German. He it was who pioneered in cultivating the linguistic medium that was the basis for what later became the standard literary language. Evidence to support these statements follows.

We have ample evidence that the kings and emperors during this

<sup>1</sup> George O. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1922), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Studien zur Kurmainzer Kanzleisprache* (diss. Berlin, 1916), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig, 1921), p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1950), p. 113.

era were at least moderately literate in Latin.<sup>5</sup> Members of the clergy — the *clerici* — were by definition able to read and write. Our information concerning the nature and degree of education given to the high nobility during the Middle Ages is rather sparse, although the usual practice seems to have been simply to enroll the young nobles in a monastery or cathedral school.<sup>6</sup> Since the administration of both Church and State lay to a considerable degree in the hands of the old aristocratic families, it was not always predictable for which career their sons should best prepare.<sup>7</sup> The exigencies of politics, the fortunes of war or the whims of a superior, made it highly desirable that all such youths be able to serve in either capacity. For reasons such as these, literacy — that is, the ability to read and write Latin — may be assumed for princes of the realm and members of the ranking nobility.<sup>8</sup>

If, then, the churchmen, the kings, the nobles, and the scribes all knew Latin, who found it necessary to carry on official transactions in German? As indicated earlier, most works which deal with the question maintain that the use of German received its chief impetus from the chanceries of the cities; the problems of self-government prompted the need for a written language that could be understood.

This assumption takes a great deal for granted. Certainly for the twelfth, thirteenth, and even early fourteenth centuries, we are justified in limiting literacy to a small fraction of the city population. As Adolf Matthias says, a certain amount of education was indispensable for most administrative officials, city councilmen, and guild masters.<sup>9</sup> But these people were usually to a man members of the wealthy, influential families — in a word, patricians. They had received their education from the same source as the sons of the aristocrats: in the Church schools (Matthias, p. 12). Indeed, toward the close of the twelfth century there is evidence of considerable preoccupation with things educational among the upper-class citizens. We have a first-hand account of the polished learning of

<sup>5</sup> Franz A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1885), pages 236-239.

<sup>6</sup> Felix Merkel, *Das Aufkommen der deutschen Sprache in den städtischen Kanzleien des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1930), pages 3-4. Merkel accepts Vancsa's work (footnote 15) as basic for his own investigation, although he re-examines at first-hand all or more of the city records to which he refers. Unlike his colleague, Merkel tries to search out causes as to why the city chanceries began using German. I have been unable to add much to his thorough-going conclusions. In my discussion of the lesser nobility, however, I was able to contribute some information which neither Vancsa nor Merkel include. See also Specht, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Albert Hauch, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1903-1911), IV (1930), pages 475-553. This reference is to Chapter VI, entitled "Das Christentum im Kulturleben," in which Hauch gives a remarkable and ingenious analysis of certain secular writings of medieval Germany's clerics.

<sup>9</sup> *Geschichte des deutschen Unterrichts* (Munich, 1907), p. 12.



the merchants of Cologne in Rudolf von Ems' *Der gute Gerhardt*.<sup>10</sup> And Tristan, who was versed in "der buoche lère" as well as in the arts of knighthood, could pass himself off as a merchant's son at King Mark's court.

The rapid increase in population brought with it the need for enlarged educational facilities. Furthermore, the cities, as they increased in prestige and independence, fought stubbornly for the right to establish and administer their own system of schools — privileges which the church prelates were most reluctant to grant.<sup>11</sup> The Church tried to cope with the situation by establishing a system of parochial schools. The earliest specific mention of such a school is apparently from the year 1234, but there are many oblique references in various city records dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Specht, *Unterrichtswesen*, pages 248-249). The city schools arose at about the same time,<sup>12</sup> although their curriculum differed in no essential respect from the parochial institutions (Paulsen, *Bildungswesen*, p. 18); neither type of school included formal instruction in the German language.

The teaching of the vernacular is not attested to until nearly the end of the fourteenth century and then not in the parochial or city schools, but rather in the *Schreibschulen* or — as they were sometimes called — *Lehrhäuser*. These schools had no official standing. The faculty usually consisted of one teacher who had established quarters (often in his home) for the purpose of tutoring children in the reading and writing of German. One of the earliest accounts of such an undertaking is found in the city records of Strassburg: the name and address of a "writing master" is given; the year is 1393!<sup>13</sup> For the years 1461 through 1466 five such schools are mentioned. This sort of "unaccredited" instruction met with considerable opposition from the vested interests. Matthias (*Geschichte*, p. 13) mentions one such incident which occurred in Braunschweig in 1479. The authorities ruled that permission was to be granted to anyone wishing to found a *schriverschule*, but that such schools were prohibited under penalty of law from giving instruction in Latin: their curriculum could include only "schriven unde lesen dat alphabet unde dudesche boke unde breve" Evidently the need for a knowledge of Latin was felt even by those burghers whom we might today call "lower middle class."

A rather unique insight into the linguistic equipment of the townsmen is afforded by their daybooks and diaries — the so-called *Kaufmannsbüchlein* — which have come down to us. The oldest such book of which

<sup>10</sup> Ed. Moritz Haupt (Leipzig, 1840). The emperor's reception of the burghers of Cologne (lines 657-844) might serve as a good example.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Paulsen, *Das deutsche Bildungswesen* (Leipzig, 1906), pages 18-19.

<sup>12</sup> G. Landau, "Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bürgerschulen," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für baltische Geschichte*, IV (1847), 274 ff.

<sup>13</sup> This account of the *Schreibschulen* I take from Matthias, *Geschichte*, pages 12-13.

we have record dates from the year 1330.<sup>14</sup> Two prominent Lübeck merchants, Hermann Warendorp and Johannes Clingenbergh, kept a business diary over a period of approximately twenty years. The book is written completely in Latin. Another document, the Wittenborgian *Handlungsbuch*, has entries from about 1330 until well past 1350. The Wittenborgs were members of a well-known and socially distinguished Lübeck family. All entries until 1350 are in Latin. After 1350 some German appears, but the handwriting is neither that of the elder Wittenborg nor of his son. Another merchant's diary—that of Johann Tölner of Rostock—covers the years from 1345 until 1350; it is completely in Latin. Probably the most significant document of this sort for our purposes is that of Vicko von Geldern, a Hamburg cloth merchant. The oldest section—from 1360 to 1370—is all in Latin. The first German entry is dated 1373. Those from 1375 to 1380 are recorded in a hodgepodge of Latin and German (for instance, Latin main clauses and German subordinate clauses). The German entries gradually outnumber the Latin over the years from 1380 until 1400, from which time all records are in German.

The city chanceries of medieval Germany offer additional evidence of the Latin literacy and proficiency of the burghers. Since all of the larger cities served as diocesan headquarters for a bishop or archbishop, these episcopal offices had for centuries offered the only available secretarial services. As the cities gradually established their own chanceries, they of course copied the organization and procedure of the existing facilities, including the use of the Latin language. In the earliest years they staffed their offices with personnel trained in the chanceries of the Church. All correspondence with church officials during the centuries under consideration would quite understandably be conducted in Latin, so that in order to find a more or less unbiased expression of language preference it is necessary to examine those documents which record negotiations between private citizens, proclamations of the City Council, or the written deliberations which passed between the officials of neighboring municipalities. It is possible, of course, that the burghers in their new-found dignity condoned or even encouraged writing in Latin, preferring to let all documents pass through the hands of a translator rather than admit deficiency in this common denominator of all educated men—a possibility which seems rather remote in the light of their system of schools. On the other hand, adherence to Latin long after the chanceries of the emperor, the kings, the dukes, and all the landed aristocrats customarily wrote in German, must probably be taken as evidence of a preference for and an understanding of Latin.

Although there are instances (especially in Switzerland) of the infrequent and isolated occurrence of *Stadturkunden* in German from

<sup>14</sup> I base this part of my article on information contained in pages 10-13 of Merkel's *Das Aufkommen der d. Sprache*.

about 1250 on, its use in the various city chanceries does not become commonplace until the fourteenth century. The City Council of Munich for the first time orders a document written in German on June 15, 1300. Nürnberg too, uses the turn of the century as a starting point for converting from Latin to German. The records of Vienna are unfortunately incomplete, but there are German *Urkunden* from 1280. Cologne uses Latin—with very few exceptions—until 1325. The ancient cities of the Middle Rhine hold to Latin until after 1300: Speyer, 1303; Worms, 1310; Mainz, after 1300. Frankfurt a. M. records in German for the first time in 1294, but German does not become the official language of the chancery until 1326. The City Council of Erfurt first used the vernacular in 1312. Emperor Ludwig, incidentally, used Latin in his correspondence with the city of Erfurt until 1340. Hildesheim composes in German for the first time in 1302; Göttingen, 1325; Hannover, 1329; Chemnitz, 1324; Meissen, 1329; Leipzig, 1335; Mülhausen, 1339.<sup>15</sup> The Hanseatic cities are far and away the most conservative: the use of Low German in their chanceries does not become common until almost 1400 (Merkel, p. 62).<sup>16</sup>

The material thus far presented does not seem to bear out the assumption that it was the cities which forced the adoption of German as the written language for law and commerce during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> If we are permitted to assume that the great increase in educational facilities reflected a corresponding rise in attendance, then an impressive percentage of the urban population must at least have been exposed to elementary instruction in reading and writing. Since there is factual evidence that formal instruction in German was not generally available until after 1400, then we must interpret the term "literacy" to mean the ability to read and write Latin. This does not

<sup>15</sup> Max Vancsa, *Das erste Auftreten der deutschen Sprache in den Urkunden* (Leipzig 1895), pages 55-56. This study still ranks as the most thorough and reliable investigation of German *Urkunden*. Statistical in method, however, it does not attempt to determine or evaluate the causes which gave rise to the use of the vernacular for official documentation.

<sup>16</sup> I have not given the chronological beginnings of the *Stadtbücher*, since they in general post-date the *Urkundenbücher*. Inasmuch as these records were presumably not in the nature of correspondence, we may assume that the choice of language was dictated solely by local preference. Merkel (pages 64-72) traces the history of these city records quite thoroughly; German does not become commonplace until at least the middle of the fourteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> There is in fact some evidence of almost hostile resistance to the encroachment of German into the city chanceries. Vancsa (p. 104), for instance, refers to a letter by a certain Konrad von Mure, doctor of canonical law and apparently a spokesman for the chancery scribes of Zürich, in which he predicts nothing but difficulty and disaster for those who insist on using the vernacular for legal purposes. He warned that—among other calamities—the Pope and his Curia would refuse to recognize the legality of such ill-conceived instruments: "Tamen in foro contentioso aliquociens vidi litteras theutonice scriptas etiam sub sigillis autenticis a parte adversa et ab ipso iudice non admissas nec aliquam fidem eis adhibitam fuisse nec papa nec sua curia, sicut credo, ad lites consuevit huiusmodi literis fidem adhibere."

mean that someone whose native tongue was German, and who had been taught to write Latin, could not have improvised a haphazard German orthography if the need arose. But why should the need arise? Those who could not read Latin were illiterate—neither could they read German. After 1400, of course, it is quite correct to speak of the influence which the burghers exerted for the adoption of German. During the course of the fifteenth century the number of citizens who were literate in German but not in Latin increased greatly—witness the increment of so-called “deutsche Schulen”—and by this time their influence is obvious. Earlier, however—during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—there is no evidence to support the popular notion that the newly emerged third estate was in need of a written medium other than Latin. The burghers were actually the last of the literate social classes of Germany to write in the vernacular.

The tradition of writing in German is directly traceable to one very prominent and relatively numerous element in late medieval society: the lesser nobility (*der niedere Adel*). This “lesser” or “younger” nobility had its origin in the *Ministerialenstand* or “serving class,” which eventually made up the castle court of the old feudal aristocrats. It was comprised in the main of those who ministered to the personal needs of the lord, those who kept his books and were otherwise entrusted with the stewardship of his goods, and finally those who were trained in the art of chivalrous warfare.<sup>18</sup> The social origins of this new class were generally humble and usually far removed from the Latin-monastic tradition of education. In order to create a common social bond between the two disparate groups, the lower order had first to be made *hoffähig*: socially acceptable. This entailed education. But whereas the old nobility had received its schooling from the clergy, the new courtly society took upon itself the task of educating its own members. Most of the Middle High German court epics, of course, have as their theme some phase of conduct and etiquette.<sup>19</sup> On a more workaday level it is worth noting that whereas prior to about 1200 most of the private *Urkunden*<sup>20</sup> were personally written by the nobleman, documents after this date—still in Latin—frequently stem from a chancery and are signed by a “minister,” a title used by the chief clerk of the chancery. This functionary was neither of the *haute noblesse* nor

<sup>18</sup> Schulte, *Der Adel*, p. 21: “Der Stand umfaßt nur Elemente, welche vornehmere Dienste tun . . . die persönliche Bedienung des Herrn, die Verwaltung seiner Einnahmen und Lagerbestände, sowie der Dienst mit dem Rosse . . . Es ist zugleich ein Berufstand und ein Geburtstand . . . Er [der Ministerialenstand] ist die Quelle des niederen Adels geworden . . .”

<sup>19</sup> Merkel, p. 7. A good synoptic account of this familiar theme may be found in Chapter III, “The Height of Chivalric Culture,” of Kuno Francke’s *A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces*, 4th ed., 12th impression (New York, 1931).

<sup>20</sup> *Privaturkunden* is used by German diplomatists to mean all *Urkunden* other than those of royal or ecclesiastical provenience.



a clergyman, but a retainer who had received his education and training at the noble's court.<sup>21</sup>

This secularization of education was also ultimately responsible for a waxing disinterest in book learning. By far the most glamorous member of the new society was the knight. Young and vigorous, he had really but one responsibility: to keep himself physically fit for combat. He was above all else a warrior. And he was not inclined to sit hunched over a scrap of parchment while some frail, pale-faced monk tutored him. Middle High German literature contains several well-known accounts of the type of education given to young gentlemen. Gottfried tells in some detail of Tristan's training;<sup>22</sup> he specifically warns that the arts of knight-hood must be learned early to be effective.<sup>23</sup> An old Nordic Song sings of the training given the son of a nobleman. The passage contains copious references to shields, swords, horses, and hounds.<sup>24</sup> And Hartmann von Aue has the abbot warn young Gregorius that any youth who is still in school at the age of twelve might just as well become a priest, since he will never acquire true proficiency as a knight.<sup>25</sup> The ruling nobility — as pointed out earlier — kept alive the tradition of literacy; the warrior caste, however — made up more and more of the lesser nobles — had little patience with book learning.

Another factor which prompted the lesser nobles to adopt German was the disintegration during the thirteenth century of the centralized power of the emperor. Even under Friedrich II the bonds of empire had been loosened. Then came the Great Interregnum, after which all efforts to rebuild the empire or to form a united Germany ultimately served only to strengthen centrifugal tendencies. During these years the nobles became more and more a law unto themselves. Quite naturally there arose countless disputes among them — disputes involving rights of way, boundary lines, and the like. In fact, as a result of their many altercations, two new types of documents emerged: the *Sühne* and the

<sup>21</sup> R. Köttschke, *Rheinische Urbare* (Bonn, 1906), II, xvii. The archaic meaning of *minister* in both German and English is simply that of "servant." Its specialized use in the chancery probably marks the beginning of its modern restriction to denote an executive official in charge of a governmental department.

<sup>22</sup> Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde*, ed. Wolfgang Golther (Berlin, 1888), lines 2101-2120. The passage is too well-known to require citation. In the immediately preceding verses we are told that Tristan also studied "der buoche und der zungen" but, beginning with line 2101, "über diz allez lernete er/ mit dem schilte und mit dem sper/ behendecliche rîten," and so forth.

<sup>23</sup> "Wan ritterschaft, also man seit,/ diu muoz ie von der kintheit/ nemen ir aneenge/ oder si wirt selten strenge" (*Ibid.*, lines 4415-4418).

<sup>24</sup> *Die Edda*, ed. Karl Simrock, 6th ed. (Stuttgart, 1876), p. 115: "Daheim erwuchs in der Halle der Jarl:/ Den Schild lernt' er schütteln, Sehnen winden,/ Bogen spannen und Pfeile schäften,/ Spieße werfen, Lanzen schießen,/ Hunde hetzen, Hengste reiten,/ Schwerter schwingen, den Sund durchschwimmen."

<sup>25</sup> *Gregorius auf dem Steine*, ed. Hermann Paul, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1900), lines 1547-1553: "Sun, mir saget vil maneger munt,/ dem ze ritterschaft ist kunt,/ swer dâ ze schuole belibe/ und er dâ vertribe/ ungeriten zwelf jâr,/ der müeze iemmer für wâr/ gebâren nâch den pfaffen."

*Schiedsspruch*, roughly a document of reconciliation and of arbitration, respectively. The very nature of such documents precluded the use of a standardized Latin formulary. Each dispute was different and each instrument had to be tailored to fit its unique purpose. Furthermore, every safeguard had to be taken to insure that those affected understood the decisions. Tradition had it that Latin was the proper language for legal pronouncements, but this custom worked an intolerable hardship on the lesser nobles. Eventually they simply broke with protocol and began writing in their native German. There are approximately 2500 legal documents dated prior to 1299 that are composed in German. Significantly, almost all of them are from the pens of the lesser nobles (Merkel, p. 15). Their geographical distribution is also interesting: over 2200 of them are from the territory along the middle and lower Rhine — land that very early had been parceled out to smaller landowners. Some of the oldest of these documents — from about 1250 — are found in Swabia and Austria, likewise long divided among the lesser lords.<sup>26</sup> Thuringia on the other hand, was governed until late by but a few great rulers: rich and powerful *Grafen* who maintained excellent chanceries. Latin prevailed in their territories until the last decade of the thirteenth century (Vancsa, p. 36).

The municipal records of Cologne point up rather dramatically the language preference of the nobility. Many of the German cities, in an effort to shake off the oppressive authority of a bishop, entered into covenants with certain nobles who likewise favored a lessening of episcopal influence. Cologne was one of these cities. As of 1248 the civic chancery began using German and continued to do so for the next decade. During this time most of its output is addressed to noblemen. However, as soon as the quarrel with the archbishop was ended and Cologne's confederation with the nobles was dissolved — about 1265 — the city fathers at once revert to Latin, and it is not until 1325 that the chancery scribes again write in the German language.<sup>27</sup>

These findings in no way vitiate the general correctness of those statements which explain the rise of written German as a result of an increasingly powerful and literate laity. Researches indicate rather the need for stressing the triadic constituency of the laity (greater nobility, lesser nobility, citizen), and the recognition of a proper se-

<sup>26</sup> Vancsa, p. 33: "... so finden wir auch hier [Swabia] ... die deutsche Sprache in den Urkunden der vielen kleinen Herrengeschlechter ...". The German term *Herrengeschlecht* is especially appropriate. English expressions such as "ruling nobility," "governing aristocracy," or "lords," all sound — to me at least — rather pretentious when applied to a lesser nobleman whose actual political and economic importance — as measured by his tiny domain — probably corresponded more nearly to that of an eighteenth century English squire.

<sup>27</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelhheinischen Territorien Coblenz und Trier* (Coblenz, 1874), III, 723.

quence of these discrete influences.<sup>28</sup> The tendency has been to assume uncritically that the "untutored," "illiterate" burgher was the one who forced the other elements of late medieval Germany to write in the vernacular. As shown previously, we must concern ourselves only with that fraction — large or small — of the city population which was literate. Since schooling within the city walls was controlled by the Church either directly or indirectly until well into the fifteenth century, the townsmen preserved the tradition of using Latin longer than any other lay element in Germany.

Literacy among the nobles must be discussed under two distinct rubrics: the greater and the lesser aristocracy. The so-called *Hochadel* shows an early preference for the use of German — it was in a sense their *Standessprache* — but since they usually maintained an ably staffed chancery, the choice of language was seldom a problem. Furthermore, most of them knew Latin. They were bound closely to the temporal affairs of the Church and shared with the clergy a common educational heritage. The lesser nobles, however, had no such ties; they had been reared in quite another tradition, and the language of this new culture was German. Indeed, they knew no other. They were a product of the court — the *Hof* — and Latin was the language of the choir and the altar, not of the harp and the tournament. The petty nobleman, then, was the one who by tradition and necessity favored one language for all purposes, namely, his mother tongue. He saw nothing inferior or degrading in this. Latin was for monks. He was a German nobleman.

<sup>28</sup> Redlich, *Urkundenlehre*, p. 206, speaks of the "... Empordringen der Laienwelt und Laienbildung, verkörpert in den weltlichen Ständen des hohen alten und des niedrigen neuen Adels, und in dem Bürgertum."



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Lancaster, Pa.      Prof.: J. William Frey,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Paul P. Martin.  
Asst. Prof.: Peter S. Seadle. Instr.: Irene P. Seadle.
- George Washington  
University  
Washington, D. C.      Assoc. Profs.: Gretchen L. Rogers, Ph.D.; Wolfram K. Leg-  
ner,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: James C. King, Ph.D. Emeritus:  
Edward H. Sehr, Ph.D.
- Grinnell College  
Grinnell, Iowa      Assoc. Prof.: F. Andrew Brown, Ph.D. (Univ. of Michigan).  
Emeritus: C. W. Perkins. Instr.: Dirk Baay.
- Hamilton College  
Clinton, N. Y.      Prof.: Otto K. Liedke,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Robert M. Brown-  
ing, Ph.D.
- Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass.      Profs.: Taylor Starck, Ph.D.; Wolfgang Kayser, Ph.D. (Visit-  
ing 1955-56 from Univ. of Göttingen). Assoc. Profs.: Stuart  
Atkins,\* Ph.D.; Henry C. Hatfield, Ph.D.; Reginald H. Phelps,  
Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Gerard F. Schmidt, Ph.D. Emeritus: William  
G. Howard, Ph.D.; Heinrich Schneider, Ph.D. Instrs.: Gustav  
A. Konitsky, Ph.D.; Robert B. Lichtenstein, Ph.D.; Egon  
Schwarz, Ph.D. Assts.: 10.
- Haverford College  
Haverford, Pa.      Prof.: Harry W. Pfund,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: John R. Cary,  
Ph.D. Emeritus: John Alexander Kelly, Ph.D.
- Hofstra College  
Hempstead, N. Y.      Prof.: Joseph G. Astman,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Helmut Lucke,  
Ph.D. (Visiting Fulbright Prof.).
- Houston, Univ. of  
Houston 4, Texas      Prof.: Louis Kestenberg,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Alfred R. Neu-  
mann, Ph.D.
- Howard University  
Washington, D. C.      Profs.: Stanton L. Wormley,\* Ph.D.; Wolfgang S. Seiferth,  
Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Karl D. Darmstadter. Instrs.: Maria P.  
Davis (Univ. of Oklahoma); Herbert Sussbach (Univ. of  
Southern California).
- Hunter College  
New York, N. Y.      Profs.: Anna Jacobson,\* Ph.D.; Carl Selmer, Ph.D. Assoc.  
Profs.: Lillie V. Hathaway, Ph.D.; Günther Keil, Ph.D.; Edgar  
H. Hemminghaus, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Lena F. Dahme, Ph.D.;  
Jean T. Wilde, Ph.D.; S. Etta Schreiber, Ph.D. Emeritus:  
Adolf Busse, Ph.D. Instrs.: Edith Cappel, Ph.D.; Frederic P.  
Gutekunst; Bertha M. Masche.
- Illinois, Univ. of  
Urbana, Ill.      Profs.: John R. Frey, Ph.D.; E. A. Philippson, Ph.D.; Dedev  
W. Schumann, Ph.D. (On leave first semester); Henri Stege-  
meier, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Mimi I. Jehle, Ph.D.; Francis J.  
Nock, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Frank G. Banta,\* Ph.D. Emeritus: J.  
T. Geissendoerfer, Ph.D.; Charles A. Williams, Ph.D. Instrs.:  
A. George De Capua, Ph.D.; Roger Norton, Ph.D.; Pauline  
Steiner, Ph.D.; Richard Thurber, Ph.D.; Lois Armour Westen,  
Ph.D. Assts.: 8.

- Indiana University**  
Bloomington, Ind. Profs.: Norbert Fuerst, Ph.D.; Hans Jaeger, Ph.D.; H. J. Meessen,\* Ph.D.; Harry V. Velten, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Frances H. Ellis, Ph.D.; Henry H. H. Remak, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Frederick J. Beharriell, Ph.D.; Donald S. Berrett; Grace N. Martin. Emeritus: E. O. Wooley, Ph.D. Instr.: Bjarne Ulvestad, Ph.D. Assts.: 9.
- Iowa State Univ.**  
Iowa City, Iowa Prof.: Erich Funke,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Herbert O. Lyte, Ph.D.; Fred L. Fehling, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Edgar List, Ph.D.; Milton Zagel, Ph.D. Assts.: 7.
- Johns Hopkins Univ.**  
Baltimore, Md. Prof.: Heinrich Schneider (Visiting Prof. from Harvard). Assoc. Prof.: William H. McClain,\* Ph.D. Emeritus: Ernst Feise, Ph.D.; William Kurrelmeyer, Ph.D. Assts.: 8.
- Kansas. Univ. of**  
Lawrence, Kansas Prof.: J. A. Burzle,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: George W. Kreye, Ph.D.; P. M. Mitchell, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Sidney M. Johnson, Ph.D.; Werner Winter, Ph.D. Emeritus: A. M. Sturtevant, Ph.D.; E. F. Engel. Instrs.: Mrs. Helga Vigliano; Sam Anderson; Hermine Papacek, Ph.D. Assts.: 4.
- Kent State Univ.**  
Kent, Ohio Prof.: W. G. Meinke,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Esther L. Grant, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Walter L. DeVold, Ph.D.; Georgiana Babb, Ph.D.
- Kentucky, Univ. of**  
Lexington, Ky. Profs.: Adolph E. Bigge,\* Ph.D.; Daniel V. Hegeman, Ph.D.; Paul K. Whitaker, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Norman H. Binger, Ph.D.; John H. Ubben, Ph.D. (On Fulbright 1955-56). Instrs.: John A. Rea (On leave first semester); Gerhard F. Probst, Ph.D. (On Fulbright from Berlin).
- Lawrence College**  
Appleton, Wis. Prof.: John F. McMahon.\* Asst. Prof.: Dorrit Friedlander. Emeritus: Gottlob C. Cast, Ph.D. Instr.: Warren H. Caryl.
- Lehigh University**  
Bethlehem, Pa. Prof.: Robert Pattison More. Assoc. Prof.: John Schrader Tremper,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Marion Candler Lazenby, Ph.D. Instr.: Ulrich Weisstein, Ph.D.
- Marquette University**  
Milwaukee, Wis. Prof.: William Dehorn,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Christopher Spalatin, Ph.D. Assts.: 6.
- Marshall College**  
Huntington, W. Va. Assoc. Profs.: Julius Lieberman,\* Ph.D.; Walter H. Perl, Ph.D.
- Maryland, Univ. of**  
College Park, Md. Profs.: Adolf E. Zucker,\* Ph.D.; A. J. Prah, Ph.D.; Dieter Gunz, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Charles Kramer. Asst. Profs.: Eitel Dobert, Ph.D.; Mark Schweizer, Ph.D.; Ludwig Hamerschlag, Ph.D. Assts.: 2.
- Massachusetts, Univ.**  
Amherst, Mass. Prof.: Frederick C. Ellert,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Adolf E. Schroeder, Ph.D. Instrs.: Henry A. Lea; Edmund J. Stawiecki; Eva Schiffer.
- Mass. Inst. of Tech.**  
Cambridge, Mass. Prof.: William N. Locke,\* Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Robert L. Beare, Ph.D. (Princeton); A. N. Chomsky, Ph.D.; George E. Condoyannis, Ph.D.; Morris Halle, Ph.D.; Herman Klugman, Ph.D.; Richard Koch; Victor H. Yngve, Ph.D.
- Miami, Univ. of**  
Coral Gables, Fla. Prof.: Melaine R. Rosborough.\* Assoc. Profs.: Robert S. Whitehouse; Albert Ivanoff. Asst. Prof.: Lee Butterfield.
- Miami University**  
Oxford, Ohio Profs.: J. R. Breitenbucher,\* Ph.D.; G. L. Matuschka, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: P. W. Doepper; E. W. Steiniger, Ph.D.; C. W. Bangert. Emeritus: C. H. Handschin, Ph.D.
- Michigan, Univ. of**  
Ann Arbor, Mich. Profs.: H. W. Nordmeyer,\* Ph.D.; F. B. Wahr, Ph.D.; W. A. Reichart, Ph.D.; H. Penzl, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: O. G. Graf, Ph.D.; C. L. Pott, Ph.D.; F. X. Braun, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: A. J. Gaiss, Ph.D.; H. Bergholz, Ph.D.; A. Van Duren, Ph.D. Emeritus: N. L. Willey, Ph.D. Instrs.: A. W. Beerbaum, Ph.D.; M. Dufner, Ph.D.; F. A. Lambasa, Ph.D.; Mary

- C. Crichton, Ph.D. (Univ. of Wisconsin); William Hughes (Northwestern Univ.) . Assts.: 13.
- Michigan State College**  
East Lansing, Mich. Profs.: Hermann H. Thornton,\* Ph.D.; Stuart A. Gallacher, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: George W. Radimersky, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Orville L. Abbott, Ph.D.; Laszlo Borbas, Ph.D.; Johannes Sachse, Ph.D.; Mark O. Kistler, Ph.D.; Herbert Rubenstein, Ph.D.; George P. Steinmetz. Emeritus: Leo Cecil Hughes. Instr.: M. Doreen Leonhardt.
- Middlebury College**  
Middlebury, Vt. Profs.: Werner Neuse,\* Ph.D. Staff of the German Summer School 1955: Wolfgang Stechow, Ph.D., Oberlin College; Herbert Lederer, Ph.D., Wabash College; Joachim H. Seyppel, Ph.D., Southeastern Louisiana College; Walter Wiora, Ph.D., Visiting Prof. from Freiburg in Breisgau; Harold Leng, Ph.D., Queens College; Fritz Tiller, Ph.D., U.S. Military Academy, West Point. Instr.: Sibylle Werner, Univ. of Maryland. Asst. 1.
- Minnesota, Univ. of**  
Minneapolis, Minn. Prof.: Lynwood G. Downs, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Herman Ramras,\* Ph.D.; Edwin F. Menze, Ph.D.; Frederick L. Pfeiffer, Ph.D.; Frank H. Wood, Ph.D.; Gina O. Wangsness. Asst. Prof.: Alvin E. Prottengeier. Emeritus Oskar C. Burkhard, Ph.D. Assts. 7.
- Mississippi, Univ. of**  
University, Miss. Prof.: R. W. Tinsley.\* Assoc. Prof.: William Eickhorst, Ph.D.
- Missouri, Univ. of**  
Columbia, Mo. Prof.: Hermann Barnstorff,\* Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Elsa Nagel; Charles E. Weber, Ph.D. Instrs.: Nicholas E. Alsen. Asst.: 1.
- Mount Holyoke College**  
South Hadley, Mass. Profs.: Erika M. Meyer,\* Ph.D.; Frederick C. Sell, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Edith A. Runge, Ph.D. Emeritus: Ellen C. Hinsdale; Grace M. Bacon. Assts.: 4.
- Muhlenberg College**  
Allentown, Pa. Profs.: Ralph Charles Wood,\* Ph.D.; Heinrich Meyer, Ph.D. Instr.: John Brunner.
- Nebraska, Univ. of**  
Lincoln, Nebraska Profs.: William K. Pfeiler,\* Ph.D.; Paul Schach, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: John Winkelman, Ph.D. Emeritus: J. E. A. Alexis, Ph.D. Instrs.: Donald E. Allison; Elizabeth R. Werkmeister. Assts.: 5.
- New York City College**  
New York, N. Y. Prof.: Sol Liptzin,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Ludwig Kahn, Ph.D.; Herbert R. Liedke, Ph.D.; John B. Olli, Ph.D.; Samuel L. Sumberg, Ph.D.; Max Weinreich, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Hugo Bergenthal, Ph.D.; Eugene Gottlieb, Ph.D.; Adolf Leschnitzer, Ph.D.; Werner Miermann, Ph.D.; Richard Plant, Ph.D.; Nathan Süsskind, Ph.D.; Friedrich Thiele, Ph.D. Emeritus: Joseph von Bradisch, Ph.D. Instr.: Erich Gutzmann, Ph.D.
- New York Univ.**  
Washington Square Profs.: Ernst Rose,\* Ph.D.; Charlotte Pekary, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Dorothea Berger, Ph.D.; Arthur Geismar, Ph.D.; Edgar Lohner, Ph.D. (Lake Forest College). Emeritus G. C. L. Schuchard, Ph.D. Instrs.: Paulene H. Roth; Marlene Clewing (Barnard College).
- North Carolina, Univ. of**  
Chapel Hill, N. C. Profs.: F. E. Coenen, Ph.D.; W. P. Friederich, Ph.D.; J. G. Kunstmann,\* Ph.D. (Univ. of Chicago); G. S. Lane, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: H. W. Reichert, Ph.D. Assts.: 5.
- Northwestern Univ.**  
Evanston, Ill. Profs.: C. R. Goedsche,\* Ph.D.; W. F. Leopold, Ph.D.; Harold Jantz, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Meno Spann, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: R. J. Doney, Ph.D.; Heinrich Stammer, Ph.D.; Leland Phelps, Ph.D. Instrs.: Ronald Hauser (Univ. of California, Berkeley); Kenneth Negus (Princeton). Assts.: 4.
- Notre Dame, Univ. of**  
Notre Dame, Ind. Profs.: George J. Wack; William H. Bennett, Ph.D.; Rev. Jos. D. Muckenthaler, C.S.C. Asst. Profs.: Rev. Laurence G. Broestl, C.S.C.; Edward P. Pinigis, (On leave, 1955-56). Assts.: 3.



- Oberlin College**  
Oberlin, Ohio  
Prof.: F. W. Kaufmann,\* Ph.D.; John W. Kurtz, Ph.D. (On leave). Assoc. Prof.: Joseph R. Reichard, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Heinz Politzer, Ph.D. Instrs.: Jack R. Moeller, Ph.D.; Wilhelm Dyck. Asst.: 1.
- Ohio State Univ.**  
Columbus, Ohio  
Prof.: Bernhard Blume,\* Ph.D.; August C. Mahr, Ph.D.; Oskar Seidlin, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Wolfgang Fleischhauer, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Wayne Wonderley, Ph.D. Emeritus: Hans Sperber, Ph.D. Visiting Prof.: Eduard Neumann, Ph.D. (Free Univ. of Berlin). Instrs.: Sigurd Burckhardt; Glenn H. Goodman; Paul Gottwald, Ph.D. (Univ. of Connecticut). Assts.: 7.
- Ohio University**  
Athens, Ohio  
Assoc. Prof.: Paul G. Krauss,\* Ph.D. Instrs.: Morton Benson, Ph.D.; Walter Naumann, Ph.D.
- Oklahoma, Univ. of**  
Norman, Okla.  
Prof.: W. A. Willibrand, Ph.D.; Johannes Malthaner, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Erich Eichholz, Ph.D.; Gerhard Wiens, Ph.D. Emeritus: Roy Temple House, Ph.D. Instr.: Auguste Vavrus. Asst.: 1.
- Oregon, Univ. of**  
Eugene, Oregon  
Prof.: Edmund P. Kremer, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Astrid M. Williams, Ph.D.; Wolfgang A. Leppmann, Ph.D.
- Pennsylvania, Univ. of**  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof.: Otto Springer,\* Ph.D.; Ernst Jockers, Ph.D.; Alfred Senn, Ph.D.; Adolf D. Klarmann, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Adolph C. Gorr, Ph.D. Emeritus: Axel J. Uppwall, Ph.D.; Karl Jerker Engblom. Instrs.: Richard C. Clark, Ph.D.; Barbara Woods, Ph.D.; Gerhard Baumgärtel, Ph.D.; Adolph Wegner. Assts.: 6.
- Pennsylvania State University**  
State College, Pa.  
Prof.: Philip A. Shelley,\* Ph.D.; Albert F. Buffington, Ph.D.; Helen Adolf, Ph.D.; Herbert Steiner, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Werner F. Striedieck, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Dagobert de Levie, Ph.D.; Nora E. Wittman (On leave). Emeritus: George J. Wurfl. Instrs.: Edmund J. Kaminski (Princeton). Assts.: 3.
- Pomona College**  
Claremont, Calif.  
Prof.: Carl L. Baumann,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Emily Wagner, Ph.D.
- Princeton Univ.**  
Princeton, N. J.  
Prof.: Benno von Wiese, Ph.D. (Visiting Prof. from Münster, Germany). Assoc. Prof.: Bernhard Ulmer,\* Ph.D.; Werner Hollman, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Richard Kuehnemund, Ph.D.; George F. Jones, Ph.D.; Edward Allen McCormick, Ph.D.; Peter C. Spycher, Ph.D. Emeritus: Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer, Ph.D. Instrs.: Konrad J. Schaum, Ph.D.; Wolfgang Taraba, Ph.D.; Richard Seymour. Assts.: 3.
- Purdue University**  
Lafayette, Ind.  
Prof.: Elton Hocking,\* Ph.D.; Earle S. Randall, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Hubert Jannach, Ph.D.; J. Collins Orr; S. Edgar Schmidt, Ph.D. Emeritus: Eric V. Greenfield; Otto A. Greiner; John T. Gunn. Instrs.: Clifford A. Barraclough (Univ. of Washington); W. Merle Hill; Lawrence R. Radner; James M. Spillane.
- Queens College**  
Flushing, N. Y.  
Assoc. Prof.: Lienhard Bergel, Ph.D.; R. Travis Hardaway,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Edmund P. Kurz, Ph.D.; Harold Lenz, Ph.D.; Marianne Zerner, Ph.D.
- Rice Institute**  
Houston, Texas  
Assoc. Prof.: Andrew Louis,\* Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Peter Bruning, Ph.D. (Univ. of California, Berkeley); James Beattie MacLean, Ph.D. Emeritus: Max Freund, Ph.D. Instr.: Joseph B. Wilson. Asst.: 1.
- Rochester, Univ. of**  
Rochester, N. Y.  
Prof.: Arthur M. Hanhardt,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: William H. Clark, Jr., Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Josef M. Kellinger, Ph.D. Emeritus: J. P. King, Ph.D. Instrs.: Jessie H. Kneisel, Ph.D.; John Kempers; Richard Exner (Univ. of Southern California). Assts.: 2.

- Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, N. J. Prof.: Albert W. Holzmann,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Claude Hill, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Johannes Nabholz, Ph.D. Lecturer: William F. Amann. Instr.: John L. Guest. Asst.: 1.
- Smith College  
Northampton, Mass. Prof.: Paul G. Graham,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Marie Schnieders, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Anita L. Ascher, Ph.D. Emeritus: Josef Wiehr, Ph.D.; Ann Elisabeth Mensel. Instrs.: Helene Sommerfeld; Marion Sonnenfeld.
- South Dakota, Univ. of  
Vermillion, S. D. Profs.: Alexander P. Hartman,\* Ph.D.; J. C. Tjaden, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Richard B. O'Connell, Ph.D. Instr.: John E. Oyler.
- Southern California,  
Univ. of  
Los Angeles, Calif. Profs.: Harold von Hofe,\* Ph.D. (On leave); Ludwig Marcuse, Ph.D.; Erwin Theodore Mohme, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Stanley Russell Townsend, Ph.D.; John Thomas Waterman, Ph.D. (Acting Chairman). Emeritus: Hans Nordewin von Koerber; Ruth Baker Day. Assts.: 4.
- Southern Methodist  
Univ., Dallas, Texas Prof.: Gilbert J. Jordan,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: T. Herbert Etzler, Ph.D. Asst.: 1.
- Stanford University  
Stanford, Calif. Profs.: Friedrich W. Strothmann,\* Ph.D.; Kurt F. Reinhardt, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Henry Blauth. Asst. Profs.: Helmut R. Boeninger, Ph.D.; Daniel C. McCluney, Ph.D.; Gertrude L. Schuelke, Ph.D. Emeritus: Bayard Q. Morgan, Ph.D. Instr.: Robert Edward Simmons. Assts.: 4.
- Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore, Pa. Assoc. Profs.: Hilde D. Cohn, Ph.D.; Karl Reuning, Ph.D.; F. H. Mautner, Ph.D. (Kenyon College).
- Syracuse University  
Syracuse, N. Y. Prof.: Frederic J. Kramer,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Henry J. Groen, Ph.D.; Herbert H. J. Peisel, Ph.D.; Albert Scholz, Ph.D.; A. D. Weinberger, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Kathryn N. de Lima. Emeritus: William Gorse.
- Temple University  
Philadelphia, Pa. Prof.: Ames Johnston, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Christian Schuster,\* Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Karl H. Planitz, Ph.D.; William W. Langebartel, Ph.D. Emeritus: Charles Evans, L. H. D.
- Tennessee, Univ. of  
Knoxville, Tenn. Prof.: Reinhold Nordsieck,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: H. W. Fuller, Ph.D. (On leave). Asst. Prof.: Rudolf K. Bernard, Ph.D. (Kent State University). Instr.: Vernon W. Shepard. Assts.: 2.
- Texas, Univ. of  
Austin, Texas Profs.: L. M. Hollander, Ph.D.; W. P. Lehmann, Ph.D. (On leave); Helmut Rehder,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: W. F. Michael, Ph.D.; C. V. Pollard, LL.D.; George Schultz-Behrend, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Stanley N. Werbow, Ph.D. Emeritus J. L. Boysen, Ph.D. Instrs.: Leroy R. Shaw, Ph.D.; Leslie Willson, Ph.D. (Northwestern University); Don C. Travis, Jr.; C. H. Holzwarth, Ph.D. Assts.: 9.
- Tulane University  
New Orleans, La. Assoc. Profs.: U. Everett Fehlau,\* Ph.D.; Erich A. Albrecht, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Margaret L. Groben, Ph.D.; Myrtle T. Moseley. Asst. 1.
- U. S. Military  
Academy  
West Point, N. Y. Asst. Profs.: Maj. George J. Breindel,\* Fritz Tiller, Ph.D. Instrs.: Maj. Howard Reiner; Maj. George R. Moe; Capt. Kibbey M. Horne.
- U. S. Naval  
Academy  
Annapolis, Md. Prof.: Henry W. Drexel.\* Asst. Prof.: Kurt P. Roderbourg. Instrs.: Lt. (jg) H. J. Edmonds, Jr. USN; Lt. Col. W. J. Thinnies. USAF.
- Utah, University of  
Salt Lake City Profs.: Llewelyn R. McKay,\* Ph.D.; Paul E. Wyler, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Arval L. Streadbeck, Ph.D. Instrs.: Phila V. Heilmann; James B. Hepworth; Robert E. Helbling.
- Vassar College  
Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Profs.: Ruth J. Hofrichter,\* Ph.D.; Ada K. Bister, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Elisabeth Zorb, Ph.D. Emeritus: Lilian L. Stroebe, Ph.D. Instrs.: Mary B. Morrison; Dorritt Cohn.

- Vermont, Univ. of  
Burlington, Vt. Assoc. Prof.: James F. White,\* Ph.D. (Cornell). Asst. Profs.: Harry H. Kahn; Truman M. Webster; Albert W. Wurthmann. Emeritus: Fred Donald Carpenter, Ph.D.
- Virginia, Univ. of  
Charlottesville, Va. Prof.: Frederic T. Wood,\* Assoc. Prof.: Matthew Volm, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Harry Tucker, Jr., Ph.D.; W. G. Marigold, Ph.D. Instr.: Vernon Cook.
- Wagner College  
Staten Island Profs.: Kenneth Scott,\* Ph.D.; Gaspard L. Pinette, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Frederick Hiebel, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Frederick H. Wil-  
lecke. Assts.: 2.
- Washington, Univ. of  
Seattle, Wash. Prof.: Curtis C. D. Vail,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Herman C. Meyer, Ph.D.; Carroll E. Reed, Ph.D.; William H. Rey, Ph.D.; Annemarie M. Sauerlander, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Robert L. Kahn, Ph.D.; Franz René Sommerfeld (On leave); Richard F. Wilkie, Ph.D. Emeritus: Ernest O. Eckelman, Ph.D.; Edward H. Lauer, Ph.D.; Frederick W. Meisnest, Ph.D.; Felice Ankele, Ph.D.; Max Schertel, Ph.D.; Elenora M. Wesner. Instrs.: George C. Buck, Ph.D.; René Taube. Assts.: 5.
- Washington University  
St. Louis, Mo. Profs.: Fred O. Nolte, Ph.D.; Erich P. Hofacker,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Raymond M. Immerwahr, Ph.D.; Liselotte Dieckmann, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: James W. Marchand, Ph.D. (Univ. of Mich-  
igan). Asst.: 1.
- Wayne University  
Detroit, Mich. Profs.: Harold A. Basilius. Ph.D.; Carl Colditz,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: J. K. L. Bihl, Ph.D.; John Ebelke, Ph.D. Asst. Profs.: Vladimir Bezdek, Ph.D.; Hermann Poster, Ph.D. Instrs.: Erhard Dabringhaus; Gisela Fuhrmann. Asst.: 1.
- Wellesley College  
Wellesley, Mass. Assoc. Profs.: Barbara Salditt, Ph.D.; Magdalene Schindelin,\* Ph.D. Emeritus: Marianne Thalmann. Instr.: Mrs. Ruth Deutsch.
- Wesleyan University  
Middletown, Conn. Profs.: Laurence E. Gemeinhardt,\* Ph.D.; T. Chadbourne Dun-  
ham, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Arthur R. Schultz, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Edson M. Chick, Ph.D. Emeritus: Paul H. Curtis, Ph.D.; John C. Blankenagel, Ph.D. Instr.: Arthur S. Wensinger (Univ. of  
Michigan).
- West Virginia Univ.  
Morgantown, W. Va. Prof.: Victor J. Lemke,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Robert Stilwell,  
Ph.D. Instrs.: Walter L. Heilbronner, Ph.D.; Harley U. Taylor,  
Jr.
- Western Reserve Univ.  
Cleveland, Ohio Prof.: Theodor William Braasch,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Hugo  
Karl Polt, Ph.D. Asst. Prof.: Erminnie H. Bartelmez, Ph.D.  
Emeritus: Kaethe F. Lepehne. Lecturers: Gertrude G. Benson;  
Louise Kiefer.
- Williams College  
Williamstown, Mass. Prof.: Winthrop H. Root,\* Ph.D. Instrs.: John Henry Fitzell,  
Ph.D.; Richard Cartwright.
- Wisconsin, Univ. of  
Madison, Wis. Profs.: Walter Gausewitz, Ph.D.; Roe-Merrill S. Heffner,\*  
Ph.D.; Heinrich Henel, Ph.D.; Martin Joos, Ph.D.; John  
Workman, Ph.D. Assoc. Profs.: Sieghardt Riegel, Ph.D.;  
Lester Seifert, Ph.D.; Werner Vordtriede, Ph.D. Emeritus:  
F. Bruns, Ph.D.; A. R. Hohlfeld, Ph.D.; R. O. Röseler, Ph.D.  
Instr.: Lida Kirchberger, Ph.D. Assts.: 4.
- Wooster, College of  
Wooster, Ohio Prof.: William I. Schreiber,\* Ph.D. Instrs.: Jeva Asmyte;  
Alberta Junkin Lee. Asst.: 1.
- Wyoming, Univ. of  
Laramie, Wyo. Prof.: Adolphe J. Dickman,\* Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: Werner  
A. Mueller, Ph.D.
- Yale University  
New Haven, Conn. Profs.: H. Bluhm,\* Ph.D.; C. von Faber du Faur, Ph.D.; K.  
Reichardt, Ph.D.; H. J. Weigand, Ph.D. Assoc. Prof.: G.  
Nordmeyer, Ph.D. Emeritus: A. B. Benson, Ph.D.; H. A. Farr,  
Ph.D.; C. F. Schreiber, Ph.D. Instrs.: U. Goldsmith, Ph.D.  
(Univ. of Massachusetts); F. D. Hirschbach, Ph.D.; C. E.

Yeshiva University  
New York, N. Y.

Schweitzer, Ph.D.; R. T. Taylor, Ph.D.; C. Wood, Ph.D. (On leave). Assts.: 6.

Prof.: Ralph P. Rosenberg, Ph.D.

### PROMOTIONS

- I. To Rank of Professor:
  - Downs, Lynwood G. (Univ. of Minnesota)
  - Drexel, Henry W. (U. S. Naval Academy)
  - Gallacher, Stuart A. (Michigan State College)
  - Jessen, Myra R. (Bryn Mawr College)
  - Klarmann, Adolf D. (Univ. of Pennsylvania)
  - Lemke, Victor J. (West Virginia Univ.)
  - Oswald, V. A., Jr. (Univ. of California, Los Angeles)
  - Schach, Paul (Univ. of Nebraska)
  - Schlossmacher, Stephan J. (Dartmouth College)
  - Waas, Glenn E. (Colgate Univ.)
  - Wahlgren, E. (Univ. of California, Los Angeles)
- II. To Rank of Associate Professor:
  - Browning, Robert M. (Hamilton College)
  - Clark, William H., Jr. (Univ. of Rochester)
  - Cohn, Hilde D. (Swarthmore College)
  - Edwards, J. Stanhope (Clark Univ.)
  - Jászi, Andrew O. (Univ. of California, Berkeley)
  - Liedke, Herbert R. (New York City College)
  - Menze, Edwin F. (Univ. of Minnesota)
  - Mitchell, P. M. (Univ. of Kansas)
  - Peppard, Murray B. (Amherst College)
  - Pfeiffer, Frederick L. (Univ. of Minnesota)
  - Remak, Henry H. H. (Indiana Univ.)
  - Rey, William H. (Univ. of Washington)
  - Schoolfield, George C. (Univ. of Buffalo)
  - Schulz-Behrend, George (Univ. of Texas)
  - Stilwell, Robert (West Virginia Univ.)
  - Wangness, Gina O. (Univ. of Minnesota)
  - Waterman, John Thomas (Univ. of Southern California)
- III. To Rank of Assistant Professor:
  - Cary, John R. (Haverford College)
  - Friedlander, Dorrit (Lawrence College)
  - Huffert, Anton M. (Adelphi College)
  - Kahn, Robert L. (Univ. of Washington)
  - Koekkoek, Byron J. (Univ. of Buffalo)
  - Langebartel, William W. (Temple Univ.)
  - Minshall, Robert (Brown Univ.)
  - Morgenroth, Robert (Univ. of Arkansas)
  - Paulsen, Wolfgang (Univ. of Connecticut)
  - Phelps, Leland (Northwestern Univ.)
  - Reed, Eugene E. (Univ. of California, Berkeley)
  - Wilbur, T. H. (Univ. of California, Los Angeles)

### DOCTORAL DEGREES GRANTED IN 1955

- Univ. of California, Berkeley: Donald G. Daviau, "Hermann Bahr" (Bonwit); William Z. Shetter, "The Umlaut in Dutch" (Beeler).
- Univ. of California, Los Angeles: Barbara A. Woods, "The Devil in Dog Form: A Study of the Literary and Folkloristic Background of the Poodle-Motif of Goethe's *Faust*" (Hand).
- Univ. of Chicago: Robert Kauf, "Faith and Despair in Georg Kaiser's Work" (Liepe); Frederick Ritter, "Der Wandel des menschlichen Vorbildes im Werke Adalbert Stifters" (Gamer).



- Columbia Univ.: Mrs. Aurelia Scott, "Goethe's Suleika: Marianne von Willemer and Her Times" (Silz); Mrs. Karin L. Steubber, "Religion in Early Romance Novels" (Silz).
- Cornell Univ.: C. Keul, "G. Hauptmann's Narrative Work" (Lange).
- Harvard Univ.: Robert B. Lichtenstein, "Pejorative Personal Substantives in German to 1600" (Starck); Hilda Radzin, "Untersuchungen über G. E. Lessings Verhältnis zur Natur" (Schneider).
- Iowa State Univ.: William Weiersheuser, "The Mother in the Life and Works of Hebbel" (Funke); Fritz Cohen, "Social and Political Concepts of Arno Holz" (Fehling).
- Univ. of Michigan: J. W. Marchand, "Analysis of Phonetic Values in Gothic Inflectional Endings" (Penzl); Walter Heilbronner, "Ludwig Thoma as a Social and Political Critic and Satirist" (Wahr).
- Univ. of North Carolina: Loyal N. Gould, "Romantic Elements in the Characters of H. Hesse" (Reichert).
- Northwestern Univ.: William N. Hughes, "Der Unbeweibte in der deutschen Literatur" (Spann).
- Ohio State Univ.: Paul Gottwald, "Die Revision von Stifters *Abdias*" (Wonderley).
- Univ. of Pennsylvania: Theodore Lowe, "Die Bürgerlichkeit in den Werken Theodor Fontanes" (Klarmann).
- Pennsylvania State Univ.: Robert L. Crispin, "The Currency and Reception of German Short Prose Fiction in England and America as Reflected in the Periodicals 1790-1840" (Shelley).
- Princeton Univ.: Donald H. Crosby, "Schiller and Kleist - Influence and Creative Kinship" (Ulmer); Jack R. Moeller, "Hofmannsthal and Romanticism" (Hollmann); Konrad J. Schaum, "Bild- und Symbolgestaltung in Grillparzers Dramen" (Ulmer).
- Univ. of Southern California: Henry Cordelius, "De Ritu, Situ of Aenius Silvius" (Mohme).
- Stanford Univ.: Gerhardt Edward Steinke, "The Anarchistic, Expressionistic, and Dadaistic Phases in the Life and Work of Hugo Ball" (Reinhardt).
- Univ. of Texas: Earl N. Lewis, Jr., "Concept of Personality in Weimar Classicism until Herder's Death" (Clark).
- Univ. of Washington: Herbert Lindenberger, "Georg Trakl; The Development of his Poetic World" (Rey).
- Yale Univ.: Charlotte von Wymetal, "The Hero and His Opponent in the Heroic Tragedy from Gottsched to Lessing" (von Faber du Faur).

## NEWS AND NOTES

### In Memoriam Ludwig Lewisohn

The international stature of Ludwig Lewisohn as a novelist, Jewish thinker and Zionist leader, literary and cultural critic as well as translator has in recent years tended to obscure his services to German literature and the teaching profession. His much-lamented death on December 31, 1955, offers an opportunity to draw attention to his wide-ranging effectiveness as a Germanist.

The author of over thirty books, Lewisohn spent the last years of his life as Professor of Comparative Literature at Brandeis University, the first Jewish-sponsored, non-sectarian institution of higher learning in this country, with which he had been associated since its founding in 1948. At his own request he became the first German teacher at Brandeis, giving elementary language and literature courses as well as

a very popular full-year course on Goethe. For several years he was the ever-helpful adviser to the German Club, which was named *Lessingverein* at his suggestion. To the very end of his life he kept up his interest in German literature, writing and lecturing on it, and always preferred to converse in German with his German-speaking colleagues and students.

Born in Berlin in 1883, Lewisohn came to America at the age of seven and attended the College of Charleston, South Carolina, receiving the degrees of A.B. and A.M. there in 1901. His *alma mater* also granted him a Litt. D. degree in 1914, after he had received another A. M. from Columbia. Having already embarked upon an editorial and literary career, Lewisohn became an Instructor in German at the University of Wisconsin in 1910, and from 1911 to 1918 served as an Assistant Professor of German at Ohio State University. He then joined the staff of *The Nation* as theater critic and associate editor, and from 1924 to 1934 he lived in Europe.

In his autobiographical works *Upstream* and *Midchannel*, Lewisohn has acknowledged his great indebtedness to German literature and culture. His first major publication as a Germanist appeared in 1910, a small book entitled *German Style: An Introduction to the Study of German Prose*. Dedicated to Calvin Thomas, it reflects high competence; its notes and well-chosen examples make it a useful teaching aid. A volume of criticism, *The Spirit of Modern German Literature*, appeared in 1916. By that time Lewisohn, who was completely bilingual and a superb stylist in both German and English, had already begun his long and distinguished career as a translator. His nine-volume edition of the works of Gerhart Hauptmann appeared between 1912 and 1929, and through his translations he introduced many other notable works of modern German literature to America: Jakob Wassermann's *Christian Wahnschaffe* and *Laudin und die Seinen*; Franz Werfel's *Das Lied von Bernadette* and *Der Weg der Verheissung*; Max Brod's *Unambo*; Soma Morgenstern's novels about Jewish life in Eastern Europe; and prose and poetry by Richard Dehmel, Martin Buber, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Rainer Maria Rilke (*Thirty-One Poems*, 1946), Karl Vollmöller, and Franz Höllering. Shortly before his death Lewisohn completed the translation of Jacob Picard's German-Jewish tales, *Der Gezeichnete*, which the Jewish Publication Society will issue in 1956. Goethe was foremost among Lewisohn's literary and human *compagnons de route*, and his two-volume compilation *Goethe: The Story of a Man* (1949) is a striking labor of love.

Lewisohn considered himself a creative writer and critic rather than a scholar. Yet his critical writings reflect meticulous scholarship as well as an impressive grounding in world literature. Among his hundreds of critical studies, some collected in such volumes as *The Modern Drama*, *Cities and Men*, and *The Magic Word*, are essays on Heine, Dehmel, Hauptmann, Rilke, and Thomas Mann. Lewisohn also discovered or encouraged many a deserving talent; a case in point is the Austrian lyric poet Ernst Waldinger, whom Lewisohn met in a Viennese hospital and made known in America. In 1939 he wrote the first essay in English on the Berlin satirist Kurt Tucholsky. Lewisohn's

worldwide contacts and personal friendship with such men as Hauptmann, Werfel, Wassermann, Stefan Zweig, Schnitzler, and others aided him in his work as a cultural mediator. He has been known and appreciated in Europe, too. The German literary historian Arthur Eloesser was Lewisohn's cousin and dedicated his book *Vom Ghetto nach Europa* to him. Lewisohn's book *The Island Within* was translated into German by Gustav Meyrink; and Thomas Mann introduced the German and Paris editions of Lewisohn's *The Case of Mr. Crump*. On the occasion of Lewisohn's seventieth birthday, Thomas Mann hailed him as "ein unermüdlicher Kämpfer für die Rechte des altehrwürdigen Volksstammes, dem er mit stolzem Bewußtsein angehört . . . einer der besten Männer, deren das geistige Amerika sich heute rühmen kann," and went on to say: "Persönlich verdanke ich seiner Fähigkeit zur Liebe, zur preisenden Hingabe an fremde Hervorbringung kritische Wohltaten, die ich nie vergessen kann."

That neither Thomas Mann nor Ludwig Lewisohn was fated to reach the Goethean age is a tragedy for the world of letters. In Ludwig Lewisohn our profession has lost one of its most inspiring members.

Brandeis University.

— Harry Zohn

#### New C. F. Meyer Edition

In 1956 the critical edition of the works of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer will begin to be published under the auspices of the Gottfried Keller Society. This edition is based on Meyer's literary remains now in the custody of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. The prose will be edited by Prof. Dr. Alfred Zäch, the poetry by Dr. Hans Zeller. The editors appeal to anyone possessing *manuscripts* and *letters* of C. F. Meyer or his family (Betsy Meyer, Louise Meyer-Ziegler, Dr. Fritz Meyer), or letters relating to the author, to communicate with the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

—The Director of the Zentralbibliothek

#### Hohlfeld Honored by Bonn Government

On his ninetieth birthday, December 29, 1955, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld received from the German Federal Republic the highest award at its disposal: the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit. The presentation was made at Professor Hohlfeld's home in Madison by Vice-Consul Georg von Prich, who conveyed the personal greetings of President Theodor Heuss to Professor Hohlfeld. Also present at the ceremony were President E. B. Fred of the University of Wisconsin and Chief Justice E. T. Fairchild of the Wisconsin Supreme Court.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**SAGA OF THE JÓMSVÍKINGS**, translated from the Old Icelandic by Lee M. Hollander. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955. 116 pages. Price: \$3.00.

**LUDWIG TIECK, DER ROMANTISCHE WELTMANN AUS BERLIN**, von Marianne Thalmann. Dulp-Taschenbücher, Bd. 318. Bern: A. G. Francke Verlag, 1955. 144 Seiten.

**REPORT OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL ROUND TABLE MEETING ON LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING**, edited by Ruth H. Weinstein. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 8. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, Sept., 1955. 195 pages. Price: \$2.50.

**WÖRTERBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN UMGANGSSPRACHE**, von Heinz Küpper. Hamburg: Classen Verlag, 1955. 421 Seiten.

**DIE GÖTTLICHE KOMÖDIE** von Dante, übertragen von Wilhelm G. Hertz. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei, 1955. 459 Seiten. Preis: DM 1.90.

**JUNCKERS WÖRTERBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE**, von W. Splettstößer. Berlin: Axel Juncker Verlag, 1955. 767 Seiten. Preis: DM 7.50.

**INTERPRETATIONEN MODERNER PROSA**. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1955. 131 Seiten: DM 4.00.

**TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF SERVICE 1930-1955**, by Eugene E. Doll. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1955. 28 pages.

**GOETHE-SELECTED LETTERS (1770-86)**, edited by Barker Fairley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949. 205 pages. Price: 10s. 6 d.

**GOETHE-SELECTED LETTERS (1788-1832)**, edited by Barker Fairley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955. 231 pages. Price: 10s. 6 d.

**JAHRHUNDERTMITTE**, deutsche Gedichte der Gegenwart. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1955. 95 Seiten. Preis: DM 2.00.

**OUTLINES OF PROGRAMS FOR THE TEACHING OF GERMAN BY TELEVISION**, published by the American Association of Teachers of German, 1955. 24 pages.

**DEUTSCHLAND HEUTE**, dritte Auflage, herausgegeben vom Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 1955. 496 Seiten.

**GOETHE: FAUST PART ONE**, translated by Alice Raphael, edited by Jacques Barzun. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1955. 210 pages. Price: 75 cents.

**GOETHE, THE LYRIST**, by Edwin H. Zeydel. University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 182 pages. Price: \$3.50.



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